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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

FROM

HIS ACCESSION,

TO

THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

BENEFICIO QUAM METU OBLIGARE HOMINES MALIT; EXTERASQUE GENTES FIDE AC SOCIETATE JUNCTAS HABERE, QUAM TRISTI SUBJECTAS SERVITIO.

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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE III.

BOOK XXXI.

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BOOK XXXI.

1798. Session of parliament 1798-9.

THE session of parliament commenced on the 20th of November, 1798, with a speech from the throne, full of elation at the recent successes of the British arms, and of the firmest confidence in present prospects. "The unexampled series of our naval triumphs," said his majesty, "has received fresh splendor from the memorable and decisive action in which a detachment of my fleet, under the command of real-admiral lord Nelson, attacked and almost totally destroyed a superior force of the enemy, strengthened by every advantage of situation. By this great and brilliant victory, an enterprise, of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening, which, if improved by suitable exertions on the

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1798.

part of the other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

"The wisdom and magnanimity so eminently displayed at this conjuncture by the emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigor of the Ottoman Porte, have shown that these powers are impressed with a just sense of the present crisis; and their example, joined to the disposition manifested almost universally in the different countries struggling under the yoke of France, must be a powerful encouragement to other states to adopt that vigorous line of conduct which experience has proved to be alone consistent with security or honor."

Debate on the address.

The address moved in the upper house by the earl of Darnley was ably animadverted upon by the marquis of Lansdown, who exhorted the ministers of the crown "to draw from those victories, so much and so justly celebrated, the advantages they were calculated to secure, and to make them the means of attaining that most desirable of all objects, a safe and honorable peace. Instead of this, the continuance of war was announced. But could we place any reliance on such a league as that which now subsisted between Russia and the Porte? Was it upon such allies that we could depend for a vigorous co-operation? It would be wise to lay aside all idle plans of conquest; a spirit of moderation and disinterested-

ness should govern our conduct; and the true dignity of the nation would be consulted in making such concessions as were necessary for the restoration of the general tranquillity, at this moment of gratulation and victory."

Lord Holland said, "that if the only consequence of the victories we had gained was to be a revival of the horrors of war, England had little cause to rejoice. The speech from the throne held forth the probable success of a powerful confederacy against France. We had heard such language before; but we had only seen devastations extended over the surface of the globe, with less and less prospect of procuring tranquillity. He felt the difficulty of succeeding, in the hour of victory, in any attempt to moderate desire. He knew that it was an unwelcome task to address their lordships on the subject of peace; but he coincided in opinion with his noble friend, that the greatest victories were useless, unless employed to obtain this legitimate end of war."

Lord Mulgrave expressed his astonishment that any Englishman should think this to be the moment for proposing peace. Occupying a proud station, we ought not to forget our superiority, by renewing negotiations which presented no prospect of honorable termination. Britain stood high among the nations of Europe; she ought to invite them to combine under

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her auspices, to resort to her banner for protection, and to confide in her efforts for security.

Lord Grenville highly approved the sentiments of the last noble speaker. The powers of the continent, his lordship said, were now willing to adopt a line of conduct more suited to their interests, and was this a moment for England to show that she was guided by little, selfish politics? Instead of accelerating the fate of Europe, and abandoning the victims of French domination to their misery, it ought to be the business of Great Britain to animate their efforts, and contribute to their deliverance. It was the duty of ministers to promulgate this glorious purpose, to conciliate differences, to allay jealousies, and not, by reviving them, to prevent that co-operation which was so necessary to the general safety, and so intimately connected with the true interests of the country. The question upon the address was then put, and carried without a division.

In the house of commons a similar address was moved by lord Granville Levison Gower. The benches formerly occupied by the minority still appeared almost deserted. A feeble opposition was, however, yet maintained by those few members averse to the ministry, who had not joined in the secession. Sir John Sinclair imputed gross misconduct to the administration, in

not resisting the progress of the French in Egypt, by sending thither a body of land forces; and in the course of his speech referred to the disastrous consequences of the successive expeditions to St. Domingo, which he affirmed to have been rashly undertaken, unskilfully prosecuted, and at length disgracefully abandoned. It would be necessary to inquire into the number of troops which had been sacrificed in this project, and the sums of money unavailingly squandered upon it.

Sir Francis Burdett charged the speech with a studied ambiguity, which rendered it impossible to judge of the future measures of administration. "What was meant by the DELIVERANCE OF EUROPE, he could not conjecture. One thing, however, was plain: our victories were only signals of new expeditions, and accumulated burdens, instead of accelerating the long-wished-for blessing *peace*. If unanimity be desirable, in order to obtain it, restore to us our good old laws, let the representation be reformed, let the *bastiles* erected in Britain be destroyed, and the constitution be re-established: without these, to call upon the country for unconditional support was adding mockery and insult to injury and injustice." The question was carried, as in the upper house, without a division.

On the 11th of December, Mr. Tierney moved

BOOK XXXI. 1798. Mr. Tierney's motion for peace.

the house for an address, advising his majesty not to enter into any engagements which could impede a negotiation for peace, whenever a disposition appeared in the French republic to treat on terms consistent with the interests of Great Britain. This motion he enforced in an able speech. "It might," he said, "be objected, that such an address would tend to damp the rising spirit of Europe: but a second confederacy against France, grounded upon any rational principle, was not at all to be expected; and a confederacy void of principle was not at all to be desired. Was the confidence which had been placed in Austria and Prussia, on the former occasion, justified by the event? and could England have more confidence in either of them, after having been deserted by both? If a second confederacy were formed, it would be dissolved long before the object of it could be accomplished." Mr. Tierney reminded the house, "that, after the breaking up of the conferences at Lisle, his majesty had, in the declaration published by him on that occasion, when his arms had been crowned with recent success, given to his people, and to all Europe, the most solemn assurances of his readiness to conclude peace whenever the enemy exhibited proofs of a pacific disposition on their part. Why should the victory of lord Nelson produce an opposite effect to that gained the

preceding year by lord Duncan? We were carrying on a war which had added one hundred and eighty millions to the public debt; and which had created the necessity of adding eight millions annually to the public burdens,—a sum equal to the whole of the national expenditure previous to the American war. The country, indeed, suffered without complaining; for the law suspending the Habeas-Corpus act had silenced every one, excepting the members of that house. But, viewing as he did the situation of affairs, he must seriously ask how much longer this system of destruction could be supported?" After a debate of some length, the motion of Mr. Tierney was negatived without a division.

Debate on the renewal of the Habeas Corpus suspension.

On the second reading of the bill for renewing the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus act, (December 21,) an interesting discussion took place. Mr. Courtney remarked, "that the Habeas-Corpus act was the statute upon which the personal liberty of every Englishman depended. To the operation of that law, so justly the subject of universal panegyric, was solely owing the paramount security possessed by the natives of this island above all other nations. There were at this moment above seventy persons confined in consequence of the suspension of this act. Had there not been time to bring most of them to a trial? Their trial and conviction would be the

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best reason for continuing to entrust such power to the executive government. The people confined under this suspension had been treated with unprecedented rigor and inhumanity. Desirous of obtaining some information upon the subject, he had procured an order to visit one of these state prisons situated in Coldbath Fields, and generally known by the name of the Bastile. The prisoners were locked up in damp and dismal cells, without fire, without candle; the only means afforded for the admission of light letting in also the cold and rain. He had talked with many of the prisoners; amongst the rest colonel Despard, an officer who had been many years employed in the service of his country. Though lately removed to a different part of the prison, he had been long confined in the way now stated; and even his wife was never permitted to see him but through an iron grate, for a few minutes. He appealed to the house, whether such rigor ought to be practised even to felons; and much less in relation to men who were deprived of the benefit of a trial; and who might, if tried, very possibly be able to prove their innocence. In the French bastile, prisoners had been treated much better than in this."

Mr. Secretary Dundas said the question before the house was, whether the bill suspending the Habeas-Corpus act should be read a second time,

or not; and that the observations of the honorable gentleman had no earthly connection with it. They related merely to the good or bad conduct of a jail, and had nothing to do with the power delegated by the legislature to the executive government, by the present bill, for purposes of national safety. The management of jails was under the care of sheriffs and magistrates; and to them the honorable gentleman, if induced by sympathy to deplore the sufferings of the seditious, should have made his complaint.

Mr. Tierney insisted that the observations of the honorable gentleman were perfectly relevant to the question. Whatever pretext of danger had induced the house to consent to the original suspension, it no longer subsisted. There was now no apprehension of invasion, no appearance of disaffection; and when, under the suspension contended for, a gentleman suspected of treason was treated as a felon convicted of crimes, it was a strong reason why a power so liable to abuse, and in fact so flagrantly abused, should be discontinued, unless better grounds for its renewal were offered than the house had yet heard.

Sir Francis Burdett corroborated the assertions of Mr. Courtney, and declared it to be the duty of that house to take care that the extraordinary powers which it granted should not be abused;

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and it possessed the power to grant such an inquest as was necessary to put an end to oppression, if there was proof that it had been exercised. And unless strong evidence could be adduced of the conspiracies of which we had been told, we ought not to relinquish this bulwark of our personal liberty.

On the other hand, Mr. Wilberforce contended that nothing could be more satisfactory than the accounts he had heard of the situation and health of the prisoners; and that it was no light thing to charge the executive government with acting malignantly in respect to the prisoners confined under the suspension. Many of the regulations which prevailed in this prison were recommended by the excellent Howard.* Those who believed the country to be in danger ought not to relax their efforts, or deprive the executive power of the means to provide for its security. Nor should it be forgotten, that men who

* It must be remarked, that the regulations alluded to by Mr. Wilberforce, and recommended by Mr. Howard, had relation merely to felons and persons grossly vicious and immoral. No man was more susceptible of compassion than Mr. Howard, at the view of barbarities wantonly or unnecessarily inflicted even on delinquents of this description; and no man would have felt more indignant that his name should be used as a bar to any species of equitable or practicable investigation, either judicial or parliamentary.

expose themselves to suspicion must often incur the disadvantages of guilt.

Mr. Pitt treated the opposition to the bill with much contempt, and asked if this was a time to slumber, when there existed men who were hourly planning our destruction? men who never waked nor slept, nor walked abroad, without holding up to our view, as it were, a dagger streaming with blood! Ought we to cast aside that shield which alone enabled us to defy its point? The question was then put, and carried with the customary superiority.

On the motion of commitment, nevertheless, the debate was renewed with fresh vigor. Mr. Courtney urged, that last year the house proceeded on the express declaration of the king, "that preparations were making in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, for an invasion of these realms; and that in this attempt the enemy was encouraged by the correspondence of traitorous persons and societies of these kingdoms." Here was a plain reason assigned for the suspension: but were our enemies now preparing to invade us? Had not the glory of Great Britain been extended over Europe by our late victories? and was it probable that the French would choose the present moment to attack this country, when they were unable to defend their former conquests? Mr. Courtney, again adverting to the

BOOK XXXI. 1798.

situation of the state prisoners, re-asserted that they were treated with the most unprecedented and unjustifiable rigor; and he defied any person to adduce instances from past times of similar severity. To corrobate these assertions, he begged leave to read a letter from the wife of colonel Despard; which was as follows:

Case of Colonel Despard.

"Some mention having been made in newspaper reports of the house of commons, relative to the treatment of colonel Despard in the new prison, I think it necessary to state, that he was confined near seven months in a damp cell, not seven feet square, without fire or candle, chair, table, knife, fork, a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the duke of Portland, all to no purpose. The 20th of last month he was removed into a room with a fire, but not till his feet were ulcerated by a frost. For the truth of this statement I appeal to the honorable Mr. Lawless and John Reeves, esq., who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The jailor will bear witness that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the colonel, who has served his majesty thirty years, and all his family are now in the army.

Berkeley-square. "CATHARINE DESPARD."

Mr. Courtney hoped, when this matter was first mentioned to him, that it was not known to ministers: but this letter bore proof to the contrary; and in his opinion the abuse of the power intrusted to government might be very forcibly and logically urged against its renewal.

On the other hand, the attorney-general stated that the duke of Portland had, in consequence of the application of Mrs. Despard, given orders for the removal of the colonel from the cell to the apartment which he now occupied; and subsequent directions were given for all the prisoners to have every indulgence compatible with security. And Mr. Burdon, member for the county of Durham, informed the house, that he had also visited the prison, and that the cells were neither damp nor unwholesome; and colonel Despard had expressed himself well satisfied with his situation. The house then went into a committee upon the bill, and the suspension was continued to the 21st of May, 1799.

In the house of lords the measure of suspension was resisted by the lords Suffolk and Holland, by arguments similar to those urged by the minority in the house of commons, and with as little effect.

Income tax imposed.

The enormous and increasing expenditure of the present war had induced the minister, in the course of the last session, to bring forward,

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and the house to sanction, what, in the language of Mr. Pitt, was styled "a new and solid system of Finance;" the principle of which was to borrow, upon the credit of a new and very heavy temporary tax, that large proportion of the loan which exceeded the sum discharged by the operation of the sinking fund; so that no addition should be made to the permanent debt. The tax imposed, however, for this purpose, called the triple assessment, was not only extremely unequal and oppressive in its operation, but it produced a sum so short of the minister's original estimate, as to make it evident to all, that, if the war continued but a few years longer, this temporary tax must be converted, by the successive mortgages upon it, into a perpetual one. Had Mr. Pitt, at the commencement of the present war, adopted a system of finance founded on the basis of the present proposition, it would have been perfectly feasible; but the exhausted state of the revenue, after an addition of two hundred millions to the debt, made it now extremely difficult to devise any tax sufficiently productive to sustain the pressure of that prodigious load which it was of the essence of this plan to lay upon it. Though much obloquy has been frequently cost upon the funding system, as ruinous in its nature, and though it has undoubtedly been ruinous in its consequences, it must nevertheless be acknow-

ledged, that under a wise and provident government, if such a government could be supposed to exist for any length of time in any country, this would be incomparably the easiest and most eligible mode of raising supplies, provided the taxes mortgaged for the payment of the interest of the successive loans should produce a surplus sufficient to liquidate the principal within a given and reasonable term. BOOK XXXI. 1798.

From the inexcusable neglect of this axiom, the national debt of Great Britain had accumulated to the present exorbitant amount; so that it was now a perplexing problem for the ablest minister, to ascertain by what means, and under what modifications, the future supplies ought to be raised. Mr. Pitt, however, determined to adhere to the plan which he had with so much confidence proposed the last year: but, entirely changing the medium by which he had then engaged to carry it into effect, he on the 3d of December, 1798, moved "that the triple assessment should be altogether repealed; and, in lieu of it, that a general tax, subject to the same incumbrances, should be imposed upon the aggregate amount of the INCOME of each individual. No scale of income, he observed, could be devised which would be perfectly free from the objection of inequality; but this was a tax which seemed to approach nearer than any other to a fair and

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equal contribution. The commissioners, who were to be invested with a power of fixing the rate of every person's income, should be men respectable both for character and situation, and possessed of estates of a certain value. The list of *persons qualified*, to be referred to those gentlemen who had served on the two last grand juries, in order to make a proper selection; who should also choose a second set of commissioners, for the purpose of receiving and deciding upon appeals. In commercial towns some special provisions would be necessary, adapted to the nature of circumstances, and tending, as it subsequently appeared, to establish an inviolable secrecy relative to the incomes of merchants and principal traders. Mr. Pitt further stated his intention that no income under 60*l.* per annum shall be called upon to contribute; and that the scale of modification up to 200*l.* per annum should be introduced with restriction. The quota then required by the proposed act would amount to a full tenth of the contributor's income. He estimated the national income at one hundred and two millions; the produce of the tax would therefore be ten millions; whereas the triple assessment had netted scarcely four millions: so that the object for which the assessed taxes were designed would be sooner accomplished, and the public would be in the same pro-

portion more speedily relieved. "If every motive to exertion continued the same, and every effort we had made was a source of pride and exultation to the heart, should we not," said the minister, "persevere in a course so fairly calculated to bring us to a happy issue?" BOOK XXXI. 1798.

Notwithstanding these vain and ill-timed boasts, the nation at large saw and felt that a more arbitrary and oppressive impost was never devised nor attempted by the most rapacious tyranny in any age or country. Yet was it evident to all reflecting persons, that some effectual means *must* be resorted to, in order to avert the imminent danger which threatened the very existence of the community, from the ruinous and alarmingly accelerated progress of the funding system. The war, however unjust or unnecessary in its origin, *must* now be supported. Remote from immediate danger, Great Britain had ever been too ready to engage in war; and in one view, the more odious and oppressive the new impost might be, the more beneficially would it operate by making war itself odious and detestable. But when it was proposed to mortgage this temporary or "war tax," as it was at first styled, in order to defray the interest of immense loans to be raised upon the credit of it, the greatest of all delusions was to be apprehended; and it appeared but too proba-

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ble that it would never again be abolished or repealed.

Though the *principle* of raising the supplies in great part within the year was cheerfully and honorably acceded to by all descriptions of persons in the house, the details and specific provisions of the bill were assailed by very powerful objections. Mr. Tierney compared the present project of finance to the worst of the revolutionary measures of France. It put the tenth of all the property of the kingdom into requisition; and, as the prelude to this, a general disclosure of property must take place. Did any thing worse than this occur in the annals of revolutionary rapine? Could the man who now declaimed so eloquently against the accumulation of capital, be the same person who, in the short space of five years, had added so enormously to the public debt? Did the minister mean to say that a life income, and an income arising from a disposable capital, were in fairness liable to the same impositions? The scale of taxation was also manifestly inequitable and unjust. If it was right that the scale should rise from 60*l.* to 200*l.* per annum, why should it not continue to rise from 200*l.* upwards? The man of 200*l.* per annum would be deprived of a part of the moderate comforts he possessed, while the man of 20,000*l.* would still riot in the enjoyment of all his luxu-

ries. To seize the tenth of every man's income, was like taking away the tenth of every man's stature. The overgrown in riches, or in stature, would not be hurt, but it would reduce those who were already diminutive to pygmies.

Upon the commercial clauses of the bill, sir Francis Baring made some very important observations; the justice of which, in defiance of the empty boasts of commercial honor, time and experience sufficiently evinced. He affirmed, that under the veil of secrecy, which covered the commercial returns, the tax would be evaded, and frauds committed, BEYOND ANY THING IT WAS POSSIBLE TO CONCEIVE. But supposing the bill carried into effect, it was a tax upon industry and upon enterprise. The profits arising from capital, he said, ought not to be touched; when converted into capital, indeed, they became the fit subject of taxation. Approving of the general principle, he disliked the measure, under the aspect which it presented, and augured ill of its success.

Mr. William Smith also declared his decided approbation of the principle of the bill. By raising a very large sum within the year, he thought that the public finances could alone be preserved from impending ruin. But the provisions of the bill he deemed in the highest degree exceptionable. Where, or on what grounds of political economy, had it ever been asserted in

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word, or imagined in thought, or by what criterion could it be adjudged fair and honest, to tax in an equal degree industry and indolence? A stockholder who received 500*l.* annually from his capital in the funds, and a shopkeeper of small property, who by active exertions, made 500*l.* per annum of his business, were similarly rated. Even in the funds, proprietors of the long annuities, of the perpetual annuities, and of the exchequer annuities which expire in five years, were put precisely upon a level. The people of England had supported a great deal, but he believed they were not able, he hoped they were not willing, to support the present measure.

Sir William Pulteney reprobated the bill as most unconstitutional in its spirit and tendency. While the Habeas-Corpus act was suspended, we had, however necessary the suspension might be deemed, no security for our personal liberty: if the present bill passed, such were the inquisitorial powers vested in the commissioners that we had no security for our property. It was hostile in its very nature to the radical principles of freedom, and most dangerously attacked the vitals of our constitution.

Notwithstanding these various objections, which the minister treated with little ceremony, the bill finally passed, though with many modifications and exemptions, by a vast majority.

In the upper house it was again opposed by

the lords Suffolk and Holland, and the duke of Bedford; and defended by the earl of Liverpool, the lords Grenville and Auckland, and the lord chancellor; and passed without a division. The most remarkable circumstance which attended its passage through this house originated in an observation from lord Holland, who, in the course of his speech, urged upon ministers the fatal consequences, both foreign and domestic, which had resulted from the war, and which, could they have been foreseen, he doubted not would have induced those who possessed the confidence of his majesty to have counselled him against engaging in it. On this lord Grenville, rising in great warmth, declared, "that he would for himself repeat it an hundred times over, that had he been perfectly assured before-hand of all the events which had happened; the subjugation and pillage of Italy, Switzerland, and Flanders, the conquest of Holland, or even the murder of the king of France, he would have recommended the adoption of the same system which this country had pursued, and which he should consider as deriving additional urgency from those very circumstances."

One hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines, and about two hundred and fifty thousand land forces of different descriptions being voted by the house, the sum to be raised for the current

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service of the year was no less than thirty-one millions. Of this immense charge, the unmortgaged taxes on malt, &c., lottery, sinking fund, convoy-tax recently imposed, and arrear of the triple assessment, covered eight millions and a half. The produce of the income-tax for the present year, after the various alterations it had undergone, was calculated at seven millions and a half only. It was, moreover, mortgaged for eleven millions, with the accruing interest: and the remaining four millions were provided for in the usual mode by perpetual taxes. This was not more than equal to the sum discharged by the commissioners under the sinking-fund acts. So that, according to the flattering representation of the minister, no addition was made to the permanent debt of the nation. But, by the new mode of funding, the 10 per cent. income-tax would in a short time be absorbed and perpetuated, and the whole project was, by all impartial persons, regarded as a miserable delusion.

Loan of fifteen millions.

The reputation, however, derived from the fallacious idea of preventing any permanent increase of the public debt, combined with the effects produced by the operation of the land-tax redemption act, and the recent successes of the British arms, had considerably raised the value of the public funds; so that Mr. Pitt was enabled to negotiate the new loan at the rate

of *only* 175*l.* 3 per cents. for 100*l.* in money; the advantages of funding in a 4 or 5 per cent. stock, on which he had formerly and with good reason placed very great stress, being now, with the rest of his early opinions, entirely forgotten and forsaken.

Message from the king relating to Ireland.

On the 22d of January, 1799, a message from the crown, of a very high and important nature, was delivered to the house by Mr. Secretary Dundas, to the following effect:

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty is persuaded, that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide in the manner which they shall judge most expedient for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British empire."

That a complete legislative union with Ireland would be a measure highly conducive to the in-

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terests of the empire at large, as well as to the security and prosperity of that great and important branch of it in particular, had long been the fixed opinion of many enlightened patriots, faithful and zealous friends to every measure, proceeding from whatever quarter, which appeared to them of a salutary and beneficial tendency. And the present juncture seemed peculiarly favorable to the accomplishment of this grand design. Even the errors of government contributed to facilitate its execution. The severities exercised upon the catholics, under the sanction of the Irish parliament, had made the parliament itself odious to the bulk of the nation. The sentiment of pride, wounded by the extinction of their independent legislature, had given way to that of a rooted detestation; and they contemplated its eventual annihilation with a sort of gloomy triumph.

The dread entertained by the protestants of Ireland, of a final separation from Great Britain, and of the establishment of a democratic republic, allied with, or in other words, dependent upon and subject to, the directorial tyranny of France, extremely diminished the unpopularity of an incorporative union with Britain, which they regarded as the most effectual preservative from the existing and impending evils.

The prodigious and almost unbounded influence of the crown, over the members of the

legislative bodies in that kingdom, would doubtless be exerted to the utmost upon this great occasion; and the resolute and persevering temper of the present minister would not be deterred from the prosecution of his plan, by the intervention of any subordinate or incidental obstacles.

The unbiassed opinion of a great majority of the English nation appeared very favorable to the measure, and even of those who were, in general, very adverse to the politics of the minister. A considerable number of individuals nevertheless, of the highest ability and integrity, were either extremely dubious as to the expediency of the union proposed, or decidedly hostile to it.

Debates on the message in the house of commons.

The royal message was taken into early discussion on January the 23d, when Mr. secretary Dundas moved an address, importing that the house would proceed with all due dispatch to the consideration of the several interests recommended to their serious attention in the message. Mr. Sheridan declared, that he was perfectly ready on this occasion to give credit to ministers for purity of intention, as they could not be suspected of proposing a measure, which, in their own opinion, tended ultimately to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. He said that the object of the message was evidently a UNION, though the word itself was not to be found in it. But,

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did the people of Ireland manifest any wish to unite? On the contrary, they had unequivocally declared themselves hostile to this design; and if it was effected, it would be a union accomplished by fraud, corruption, and intimidation. He asked, how the terms of the *final adjustment*, made and agreed to by the parliaments of the two countries, came to fail. Before the recommendation contained in the message was attended to, it was incumbent upon ministers to show, that the last pledge of the English parliament to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognized, and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity which the parliaments of the two countries sought to cherish. And he concluded with moving, as an amendment to the address proposed, "at the same time to express the surprise and deep regret with which the house, for the first time, learned from his majesty, that the *final adjustment*, which, upon his majesty's gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement: and further humbly to express to his majesty, that his faithful commons had strong reasons to believe, that it was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to propose a union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding that final and solemn ad-

justment; humbly imploring his majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should advise such a measure at the present crisis."

Mr. Pitt observed, that we had lately seen rebellion raging with inveterate fury in Ireland, and aiming a deadly blow at the connection between that country and Great Britain. Surely, after the restoration of tranquillity, it cannot but be expedient to adopt the most rational means of counteracting those destructive and traitorous designs; and this could by no means be accomplished so effectually as by adopting the measure alluded to in the royal message. With regard to the final adjustment, as it was improperly styled in the Journals of 1782, Mr. Pitt maintained that it was far from ending all occasions of difference between the two countries. When the act passed which established the independency of Ireland, it was accompanied by a resolution, stating the opinion of the house, that the connection between the two kingdoms should be consolidated by future measures or regulations founded upon the basis of mutual consent. This proved how far the adjustment then concluded was from being regarded as final. He referred to the famous and recent instance of the regency, in order to demonstrate that the most dangerous consequences might result from the independency of the two legislatures. He affirmed that the present internal situation of

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Ireland was most deplorable; and that the Irish legislature, from the peculiar circumstances of the nation, and not from any defect of intention or want of talent, was incapable of restoring and maintaining the happiness of the people, and fixing the prosperity of the state on a firm and lasting basis. After a sharp altercation, Mr. Sheridan withdrawing his amendment, the original motion was put and carried.

On the 31st of January, the order of the day being read, Mr. Pitt rose, and said, that, when he proposed to the house to fix that day for the further consideration of his majesty's message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favorable prospect than at present existed, of the speedy accomplishment of the measure then in contemplation. He had, however, been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish house of commons. He was convinced that the parliament of Ireland possessed the power, the entire competence, to accept or reject a proposition of this nature, a power which he by no means meant to dispute. But while he admitted the rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt that, as a member of parliament of Great Britain, he had a right to exercise and a duty to perform; viz. to express the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to

insure the safety and the happiness of the two kingdoms. Should parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantage to the two kingdoms, he should propose it, in order to its being recorded on the journals of that house, leaving the rejection or adoption of this plan to the full and future consideration of the legislature of Ireland. Notwithstanding the opinion expressed by the Irish house of commons, he was convinced that the measure was founded upon such clear and demonstrable grounds of utility, and attended with so many advantages to Ireland, that all which was necessary to be done to insure its future adoption was, that it should be stated distinctly, temperately, and fully, and then left to the unprejudiced judgment of the parliament of Ireland. Mr. Pitt remarked, that the union with Scotland was as much opposed, and by nearly the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions; creating the same alarms as had recently taken place in respect to Ireland: yet could any man now doubt of the advantages which Scotland had derived from the union? One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of Ireland was the want of industry and the want of capital, which were only to be supplied by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and capital of this country. In the present state of things also, and while Ireland remained a sepa-

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rate kingdom, no reasonable person would affirm that full concessions could be made to the catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. At the conclusion of a very able speech, he proposed a series of resolutions, and moved that the house resolve itself into a committee to discuss the same in their proper order.

Resolutions moved and carried containing overtures of union with Ireland.

"I. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British empire, it will be adviseable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

"II. That it appears to this committee, that it would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom by the name of THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"III. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdoms shall

continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

"IV. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled "the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland, previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

"V. That for the same purpose it appears also

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to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

"VI. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs, or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland, of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased: that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations

as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts: that, where any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture, of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties, over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid, shall be imposed, as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect: and that all other matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

"VII. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively. That for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom in peace or war should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union. And that after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be

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liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

"VIII. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.

"That the foregoing resolutions be laid before his majesty, with an humble address, assuring his majesty that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in his majesty's gracious message.

"That we entertain a firm persuasion that a *complete and entire union* between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles; on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government; and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce, of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and do-

mestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources, of the empire.

"Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before his majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his majesty's wisdom, at such time and in such manner as his majesty, in his parental solicitude for the happiness of his people, shall judge fit, to communicate these propositions to his parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we trust that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established by the deliberative consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests, of his majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and invaluable constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire."

Mr. Sheridan, in reply, again avowed his utter dislike and disapprobation of the measure; and

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expressed his conviction, that in the present convulsed and disordered state of Ireland, it was not merely impolitic but unsafe to agitate the discussion of such topics: and, considering the reception which the proposition in question had met with in Ireland, it could scarcely be imagined that the right honorable gentleman would persevere. Mr. Sheridan avowed his doubts, whether the increase of prosperity which Scotland had enjoyed during this last century was to be ascribed to the union. And the evils which were predicted from the possible disagreement of two independent legislatures might, with as much plausibility, be supposed to result from the disagreement of two independent houses of legislature, such as the peers and commons of Great Britain: but experience refuted and proved the futility of these apprehensions. He then stated his intention of moving the following resolutions: "1st, That no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the parliaments of the two countries. 2dly, That whoever shall endeavour to obtain such approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purposes of corruption or intimidation, is an enemy to his majesty and the constitution."

Lord Hawkesbury denied that the people of Ireland, collectively taken, were adverse to the measure of a union. The inhabitants of Cork and Limerick had expressed themselves in favor of it; and he had no doubt, if it once came to be duly considered, but that a great majority of the whole nation would view it in the same light. After some further debate, the house divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes 140, noes 15.

On the 7th of February, upon Mr. Sheridan's moving his resolutions in the house, Mr. Pitt observed, that the first of them was a mere truism, to which no one could refuse his assent. The second, he supposed, alluded to the case of a gentleman lately high in office in the Irish administration, who had quitted his post because of his disagreeing in sentiment with his colleagues. But how could any number of persons continue to act together, if they differed in points of essential importance? Or what was there peculiar in a resignation or dismission, under such circumstances? He deemed the first of these resolutions superfluous, and the second improper, and therefore moved the order of the day.

Mr. Grey said, he could see nothing but danger in the discussion of the question, and particularly as it would affect the public mind in Ireland; and the house, in his opinion, should

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have resisted it in the first stage. The union which he wished for was not a union of legislatures, but of hearts, affections, and interests. Evils of which government was itself the parent were made the pretext for depriving Ireland of her independency as a nation.

Mr. Secretary Dundas remarked, that it was impossible to imagine a remedy more appropriate to the political evils under which Ireland had so recently and severely suffered, than the measure of an incorporative union. The protestants would lay aside their jealousies and distrust, being certain that against any attempt to endanger the protestant establishment in Ireland the whole strength of the united parliament would be exerted. And on the other hand, all those catholics who were friends to the connection with Great Britain, desirous of obtaining every indulgence, and of being admitted into a participation of every privilege consistent with that connection, would be confident that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered by a united parliament. In the case of the Scottish union, many melancholy pictures, in the shape of prophecies, were presented to the public view; and he adverted particularly to the celebrated speech of lord Belhaven on that occasion. Scotland, he asserted, could not, without the advantages she derived from the union, ever have advanced so

rapidly in wealth and prosperity as she had done since that æra. The Irish house of commons had expressed what they thought of a union; and it was our business to tell what we think of it also.

Mr. Tierney wished to know what advantages could be obtained by a union which could not be obtained without it. He did not contend that the measure was radically a bad one; but he thought that, after the opinion which had been expressed in the Irish parliament, the right honorable gentleman ought to abstain from pressing it. After a lengthened debate, the house divided for the speaker's leaving the chair 149, against the small minority of 24 who opposed it.

At the next meeting of the house, February 11, Mr. Sheridan asserted, that all the advantages which were professed to be expected from a union would be more certainly attained by the parliament of Great Britain setting the example of abolishing all civil incapacities on account of religious distinctions; and for this end he moved, "that it be an instruction to the committee, to consider how far it would be consistent with justice or policy, and conducive to the general interests, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire, were civil incapacities, on account of religious distinc-

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tions, to be done away throughout his majesty's dominions."

Mr. Pitt asked, what probability there was that the adoption of such a measure by the parliament of Great Britain would induce that of Ireland to adopt it? whether their acceding to it would have the desired effect of annihilating religious animosity? and, supposing these two objects accomplished, how far this would go towards strengthening the connection between the two countries? Mr. Pitt concluded by moving the order of the day; and Mr. Sheridan declined taking the sense of the house upon the subject of his proposition.

The question, whether the adjustment of 1782 was or was not a *final* adjustment between the two countries on all constitutional points, was again warmly, but superfluously, debated. That it could not be regarded as such, properly speaking, even at that time, was sufficiently evident from the act of renunciation passed in 1783. But, allowing the adjustment of 1782, as explained and ratified by the act of renunciation, to be, in a certain and specific sense, final, what was the nature and end of that adjustment? To render the legislature of Ireland perfectly free and independent of Great Britain. When restored, therefore, to that perfect freedom, and

not till then, the parliament of Ireland was competent to treat, upon terms of equality with Great Britain, upon the proposition of an incorporative union. To suppose that the parliament of Ireland, by regaining its independency, precluded itself from treating upon any question which it might have treated upon had that independency never been lost, is, indeed, a solecism too gross to be made the subject of serious discussion. The "final adjustment" of 1782-3 was evidently nothing more than the termination of the disputes actually subsisting, and could have no possible reference to an ulterior arrangement upon questions of a totally different nature at a future and distant period; nor could such ulterior arrangement in any manner infringe upon, or in any degree violate, that prior compact; which was certainly never intended to limit the power of the legislature whose independence it recognised.

On the reading of the first resolution in the committee on the following day, the speaker, Mr. Addington, rose and declared, that he had long been satisfied of the urgent and pressing necessity of the measure in question. There were, he observed, radical and inherent evils closely interwoven with the state and condition of Ireland, which he was convinced the incorporation of the two legislatures only could re-

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move. In contemplating the situation of Ireland, even at a period of apparent tranquillity, it was impossible not to discover the seeds of hostility, which had unhappily been matured by circumstances into insurrection and rebellion. To account for those long-subsisting animosities, it might be sufficient to state, that a large majority of the people were catholics; and that four-fifths of the property was in the hands of protestants, who are alone legally competent to hold high offices of state, and to perform the functions of the legislature. Hereditary feelings and resentments had besides contributed to keep those elements of internal discord in almost constant agitation. No remedy, therefore, could be effectual but such as would strike at the very root of the evil; by which the protestant and catholic inhabitants of the two countries would become one people, under the superintending authority and protection of a united and imperial parliament. Anxious as he was for the removal of the most obnoxious ground of complaint against what was termed the protestant ascendency, he sought that object by no other means than those of a legislative union. It had been suggested, as a measure of expediency, to re-enact the whole code of popery laws against the catholics who did not produce certificates of their peaceable and loyal conduct during the late

rebellion. Of this the speaker declared his decided disapprobation. Adverting to the system of 1793, by which the elective franchise and other privileges were imparted to the catholics; and to the opinion of Mr. Foster, the speaker of the Irish parliament, who had said, respecting that system, that he considered it as the prelude and certain forerunner of the overthrow of the protestant establishment in Ireland; Mr. Addington observed, that, if the predictions of Mr. Foster, with which he confessed his own apprehensions accorded, were well founded, he saw no means by which their accomplishment could possibly be averted but by a legislative union, or by a renewal of the restrictions and disabilities which were done away by the act of 1793. Some gentlemen had entertained an opinion, which he acknowledged was entitled to serious attention and consideration, that, as the measure had been discountenanced by the house of commons in Ireland, to persist in the discussion of it here would be to add to the irritation which unhappily prevailed in that country. Such an effect he should most sincerely lament: but he trusted that the resolutions adopted by this house would rather tend to appease than to inflame; that they would be such as might be a pledge of our liberality and our justice, and manifest the sin-

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cerity of our wishes to extend to Ireland all the advantages of the British constitution.

The resolutions were then put in their proper order, and carried with trivial opposition. Indeed, these propositions were so wisely and judiciously framed, that, admitting the general policy of the measure, no well-founded or even plausible objection could easily be made to them. The report of the committee being brought up on the 14th, Mr. Pitt moved, that a message be sent to the lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connection between the two countries.

The subject which had so long and so deeply engaged the attention of the commons, had been at the same time introduced into the house of peers by a similar message from the king, delivered by lord Grenville. The address in answer to this message was voted unanimously by the house; which then adjourned. From this period the business remained dormant in the upper house, till Monday, February the 18th, when the message from the commons was delivered by earl Temple. A conference accordingly taking place in the painted chamber, the lords deputed on this occasion soon returned with a copy of the resolutions voted by the house of commons.

On the 19th of March, their lordships having

Debates on the union in the house of lords.

been previously summoned, lord Grenville moved, that the house do agree with the resolutions of the commons. He said that no diversity of opinion could possibly arise on the two chief preliminary points: first, that, whatever steps they should take on the present occasion, the sole and exclusive right of the Irish legislature should be duly respected, and considered upon the same footing as those of Great Britain; and, secondly, that it was essential to the interests of the empire at large, that the connection between the two kingdoms should be strengthened and improved to as high a degree of perfection as the nature of the case admitted. There was, he said, however, another preliminary to the main subject, started by some who appeared generally to approve of the measure; and that was, whether, under the present state of things, it was proper at all to enter into the discussion? In answer, he asked, whether it would not be wise and politic to urge, with as little delay as the case would admit of, a fair and temperate survey of the general question, in order to do away the mistaken prejudices and unfounded impressions which had prevailed against the measure in Ireland. Here his lordship took occasion to remark upon the manner in which the question stood in the parliament of Ireland. The resolution of the Irish commons certainly was not conclusive. Far from amounting

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to any thing like a law, it was, in fact, a mere dead letter upon their journals. In such a case, the British parliament surely ought not to be precluded from doing what wisdom and prudence dictated. His lordship then entered into an elaborate argument, to show the expediency and necessity of the measure proposed; similar in substance to that of Mr. Pitt in the house of commons. Lord Fitzwilliam objected to the whole proceeding, as improper, impolitic, and unseasonable. Adverting to the subject of catholic emancipation, he acknowledged that he never had ORDERS, when intrusted with the government of Ireland, to bring that question forward: but he had explicitly declared that it should have his full support if it came under discussion. He believed, however, in his conscience, that the events which occurred at that period had led to the evils which now existed.

The marquis of Lansdown avowed it to be his opinion, that it was morally impossible things should go on as they were now conducted. Upon the general utility of the measure, both in a commercial and political view, he entertained no doubt; but, as to the mode of carrying the project of a union into execution, he had some hesitation. He exposed the fallacy of making the proceedings in 1782 an objection to the present measure. There was no analogy in respect to

the objects in view. The adjustment of 1782 aimed to establish the independency of the two legislatures; and, as to that point, it was unquestionably designed to be final. The resolutions before them tended towards the effecting an incorporation of the same legislatures; to which the proceedings of 1782 could never have been intended to operate as a bar. He acknowledged himself somewhat startled at the idea of adding a hundred members to the British house of commons; but, if others were satisfied as to this matter, he was disposed to acquiesce in it.

Lord Camden, late lord-lieutenant of Ireland, denied that the late distractions in that country arose in any manner from the recal of lord Fitzwilliam, for the kingdom was quiet for nine or ten months after that event! The present situation of Ireland was, however, such as to render it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken for the re-establishment of public order and tranquillity; and no measure was so likely to produce a permanent and beneficial effect as that of an incorporative union.

Marquis Townshend, the earls of Westmoreland and Carlisle, and the duke of Portland, who had all occupied the highest office of government in Ireland, declared also, in explicit terms, their approbation of the measure.

On the other side, the earl of Moira rose to

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oppose the resolutions. There was no person, he said, who would more heartily than himself concur in the measure, were he assured that it was founded on the wishes of the majority of the people of Ireland. But was it not manifest that the opposition to it was not limited to the Irish parliament only, but that it had been treated by the nation at large with an abhorrence amounting almost to a degree of phrensy? After this marked reprobation of the proposal, what could be more calculated to add fuel to the flame, than our persevering in it? It had been stated, in support of the resolutions, that Ireland could not go on in its present state. He had predicted that the system of government which had been pursued in that country could not go on; and he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet; that, however, was not a consequence flowing from the constitution of Ireland; but the result of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of government. The noble lord had expatiated on the benefits which a union would confer on Ireland. Possibly he might be right; but the immediate question, respecting which it was necessary to decide, related to the expediency of bringing forward these resolutions. Whether justly or not, it appears that the opposers of them think the demand upon Ireland to be nothing less than to sacrifice the whole body of her laws, her

rights, her liberties, her independent parliament. Under these circumstances, how does the mass of the Irish nation weigh such a supposed demand? Disgusted as they have been by recent outrages, and smarting from the lash of late severities, how could it be supposed that they would meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties to which they have been taught to attribute all their sufferings? In the nature of the union there was not any thing that held forth to the inhabitants of Ireland a security against the violence of the executive government; but, on the contrary, many checks upon that government would be withdrawn.

The earl of Moira was seconded in these remarks by lord Holland, who animadverted with some severity on the assertion of lord Grenville, that it was necessary to exhibit to the people of Ireland what the terms were upon which this country proposed to unite the two legislatures. Such, he said, might very naturally be the desire of his majesty's ministers; but, if they had imprudently involved themselves, by bringing forward this question, that was no reason why their lordships should be implicated with them. If there existed any necessity for showing the people what the intentions of his majesty's ministers were, he thought that a report of the noble secretary's speech would be sufficient for that purpose.

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This, his lordship said, would be a better way of settling the business, than for the house to agree to the resolutions; which were not only in direct opposition to the adjustment of 1782, but to the recent vote of the Irish house of commons. He expressed his doubts as to the great advantages which Scotland had derived from the union with England; and remarked, that it was forty years after that event before Scotland distinguished herself as a commercial nation. The proposition of adding one hundred members to the British house of commons, his lordship deprecated as a gross invasion of the constitution; and he was surprised at the apathy with which it was received. Ireland itself was not disposed to the measure; and any attempt to affect a union by intimidation or force, would be both unjust and impolitic.

Resolutions respecting the union agreed to.

After various other lords had spoken, the original motion was put, and agreed to without a division.

Debates on the union in the lords.

On the 11th of April, the house being again summoned, lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, similar to that already voted by the commons; upon which, lord Auckland immediately rose to express his entire approbation of the measure. "There were few, indeed," his lordship said, "who could deny the necessity of some great change in the system of Irish government;"

and he did not believe that any noble lord would maintain that the union of the two kingdoms, accomplished upon grounds satisfactory to each, would not promote the tranquillity, civilization, and prosperity, of Ireland; but the consent and co-operation of Ireland were still wanting: Ireland must form her own decision, through the medium of her own parliament. The unconstitutional doctrine, which denied the competency of parliament to effect a union, and thus to operate what, by an inference falsely conceived and idly expressed, had been called its own extinction, was, he said, exploded even in the beginning of this century: it had been revived in the schools of democracy by the admirers of the sovereignty of the people. This nobleman entered into a very wide field of discussion respecting the benefits which Ireland would derive from the measure in contemplation; and concluded a long and elaborate speech with saying, "unless Providence shall have withdrawn from her all mercy and protecting influence; unless its dispensations are to be such as to number her among the wrecks of nations; she will gratefully receive our offer, and with gladness become an integral part of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The bishop of Landaff stated to the house, that the duke of Rutland, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had honored him with his con-

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fidence. In writing to the duke, about the time the Irish propositions were under discussion, he perfectly well remembered having said, "You and your friend, the minister of England, would immortalise your characters, if, instead of a mere commercial arrangement, you could accomplish, by honorable means, a legislative union between the two kingdoms." If he were to express his sentiments of the utility of a union in a few words, he should say, that it would enrich Ireland without impoverishing Great Britain; and that it would render the empire, as to defence, the strongest in Europe. The present bond of connexion between the two kingdoms was that of their having the same king; the proposed bond was that of their having the same legislature. How slight the former bond was, in comparison of the latter, had been fully shown. His lordship foresaw, as he declared, with great satisfaction, the time, should the union take place, when the whole state of Ireland should be changed: it would convert her wastes into corn-fields; it would cover her mountains with forests; and, in a word, it would render her people industrious, enlightened, and happy. But by far the most argumentative, as well as eloquent, speech delivered on this occasion, was that of lord Minto, late sir Gilbert Elliot; which justly commanded very great attention both from the house and the

Able speech of lord Minto.

public. "If," said this enlightened speaker, "two countries, united under one executive government, but subject to different legislatures, should be unequal in power and influence, the inferior state would retain merely a nominal independence, which would be attended with an irksome consciousness of real subordination. This contrariety of the real to the nominal condition of the country would be a perpetual source of evil, from its constant tendency to the production of an acrimonious jealousy. An angry, impatient, and intolerant, love of independency would be generated. Each victory would lead to a new claim; and the career of independence would be urged forward, by patriots or demogogues, to the true goal of that course, namely, separation. From the calamities in which such an event might involve both countries, the only sure refuge and sanctuary would be found in an incorporation. Wales, subdued by the first Edward, was for centuries connected with England by an imperfect political tie; the two nations being governed by the same sovereign, but enjoying only a partial conformity of laws and institutions. This connexion was attended with the prevalence of mutual outrage and petty warfare, till Henry VIII. administered the only perfect remedy for such disorders, by effecting a legislative union. With Scotland, the English

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attempted to enforce connexion by conquest: but their efforts were unsuccessful; and the violence of contest continued till the accession of James I. Then commenced a century of partial relation, disturbed by jealousy and disgust, which brought the two countries to the alternative of separation or union. With respect to Ireland, exclusive of general motives, there existed certain peculiar and remarkable circumstances, relating to her internal and political condition, which seemed strongly to invite that nation to a union, for the purposes of equal government, and of civil and municipal happiness. Ireland is a divided country; but unequally divided, as to property and numbers—the least numerous class possessing the property and the power; but the most numerous entertaining, and indeed cherishing, fondly and tenaciously, claims on both. I need not detain your lordships by describing the extent or the violence of those passions which inflame and exasperate both parts of the Irish nation against each other. Every one knows the firm and immovable basis on which their mutual hatred stands; the irreconcilable nature of its motives; its bitter, malignant, and implacable, character. It is hardly too much to say, that there are two nations in Ireland—the one sovereign, the other subject. The sovereign class or cast of Irishmen claim their sovereignty as of

right; and ground it on an old title of conquest. They claim also the federal support of Great Britain in maintaining this dominion. They show a close alliance and identity of views between themselves and the English interest in Ireland: they call at once upon our honor and our gratitude, by an appeal to facts which we cannot controvert. I have always felt this point as constituting a true and proper *dilemma;* for I cannot admit the ascendancy of one part of a nation over another and greater part, to the extent and to the purpose claimed in Ireland, as capable of assuming any character deserving the denomination of right. That which is a wrong on one side, cannot, intelligibly to me, become a right on the other. Wrong is not a material out of which it is possible to construct right. But, in truth, nothing can be less rational, or more dangerous, than these abstract views of practical questions affecting the interests of multitudes or nations. In the blind pursuit of abstract right we shall often find ourselves the instruments of great practical injustice and oppression. We cannot be ignorant that the first application of those rights with which we should be disposed to vest the Irish catholics, is likely to be the perpetration of a great wrong. They foster extensive claims on the *property* of protestants; the present possession of which they treat as mere usurpa-

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tion. We know the aspiring character of their church; or, if you please, of all churches; and, indeed, of all *bodies* and *descriptions* of men collectively considered. We must, above all, recollect, that the catholics, besides their claims civil or religious, have passions to gratify—passions long irritated, long restrained, but not on that account less vehement or dangerous. I am not more clear in thinking the catholics entitled to a fair participation of the civil and political franchises of Irishmen, than I am in feeling that the protestants ought to be protected and defended in the security of their property, their religion, and their persons, against every violence which the catholics might be disposed to attempt, when they have passed from their present state of subjection to that of authority and power. The dilemma, therefore, has hitherto consisted in this: the protestants could not be supported in that ascendancy which seems necessary even for their protection, without derogating from what may appear to be a natural right of the catholics: the catholics could not be supported in their claim of equality, without transferring to them that ascendancy which equality of privileges must draw to the larger body; and which, from that moment, must expose the protestants to dangers from which they ought to be protected. Such seem to be the practical difficulties in the

way of abstract justice while the government of Ireland continues merely local. An Irish parliament, in which the ascendancy is either protestant or catholic, and it cannot but lie on one side or the other, may be expected still, I fear, to gore and lacerate the country by one or other of the horns of this dilemma: and I see no perfect remedy for Irish division, and its lamentable consequences, while these two enraged and implacable opponents are still shut up together, are still enclosed, within the very theatre, on the very *arena*, of their ancient and furious contention. This divided and double condition of the Irish people requires a legislature founded on a broader and more liberal basis; an imperial *aula*, to administer impartial laws to all, and to reconcile security with justice. I am persuaded, that laws beneficial to the mass of the people of Ireland, and promoting its general prosperity and happiness, may be expected with greater confidence from the united parliament, in which local partialities, interests, and passions, will not divert the straight and equal current of legislation, than in an Irish parliament, where these stumbling-blocks must for ever bend or impede its course."

Proceeding to the discussion of the various objections which had been urged against the measure of an incorporative union, lord Minto took special notice of that which appeared to have

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been "the most operative and successful throughout Ireland, and to have had the greatest share in the rejection of this salutary proposal; namely, the notion that a legislative union, however beneficial it might be to Ireland, would derogate from the honor and national independence of that country." This he styled "an airy unsubstantial sentiment; a transient, evanescent, metaphysical, point, to which we were called upon to sacrifice the permanent and perpetual interests of two great nations."—"I confess," said this intelligent nobleman, "I cannot persuade myself to rank a sentiment so subtile, and subject to many refined and delicate modifications, with that sound and genuine affection which has deserved, by excellence, the dignified appellation of patriotism. True patriotism will be found to rest on the solid basis of some rational and useful principle, which will keep it uniform and uninfluenced by time or circumstance, and which may serve as a criterion to distinguish its own genuine and steady course from the capricious and irregular motions of some of its many counterfeits. The love of our country may be rational or fantastical as that of any other object; but when founded in utility only can it challenge its descent from heaven? If this love be well regulated, and all its modes and affections in due subordination, he who is influenced by it will

prefer the real and solid happiness of his country to any metaphysical or speculative distinction. To this chaste and disciplined patriotism would I appeal, against the noisy and clamorous pretence which would usurp its seal, and bear away the decision by acclamation and tumult." Considering, however, the question in a different point of view, and as it related merely to the supposed loss of dignity consequent upon a union, his lordship observed, "that Ireland, as a separate kingdom, still remained, in some particulars, dependent, subordinate, inferior. As the connexion actually subsisting between the two countries required an uniformity of counsels in affairs of imperial concern, for the acquiescence of Ireland on these occasions the nature and frame of that connexion had provided divers securities. The king of Great Britain was, in virtue of the imperial prerogative annexed to that crown, king also of Ireland; and the whole executive government of the latter realm was administered by a viceroy, who was appointed, in effect, by a British minister, and responsible only to the British tribunals. To these instances of subordination it might be added, that the legislative functions of the sovereign of Ireland could be performed only under the great seal of Britain. By a union, on the other hand, Ireland, no longer subordinate, would participate in all the rights of

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sovereignty; and, though she would forego her individuality, she would preserve her existence in full vigor, and be identified with a larger whole."

His lordship, lastly, adverted to the objection which imputed to the two parliaments an incompetency for the adoption of the plan proposed; and in strong, but not unguarded or intemperate, language, asserted the amplitude and extent of parliamentary supremacy. "If a measure be expedient," said this noble orator, "why may it *not* be executed by parliament? or, if parliament be not competent, where shall we find a more adequate authority? The general rule and law of the constitution establishes the universal authority of the legislature, and defines it by no limits or qualification that I am acquainted with. Whatever the whole nation could do, if there were no parliament, is within the regular and fundamental powers of parliament. It may be said, that powers, unlimited in theory, are yet finite in practice; and that, in its exercise, the most unbounded authority is still circumscribed, at least within the moral boundaries of right and wrong. I assent to this restriction, and even assert it: but who must judge the fallibility of parliament; and to whom must its questionable acts be submitted? Where are the men to be found, or in what forms or combinations assembled, to whom such a superlative authority could

with safety be confided? The whole efficacy of our constitution, towards effecting its great and beneficial purposes, resides in this single principle of the unlimited, unqualified, supremacy of parliament. There is no appeal acknowledged in the constitution from that authority, because no appellate tribunal can be imagined *habile* to such a jurisdiction. Parliament itself, affording the most commodious and perfect organ of law and government, cannot be superseded by the people at large; whose inability and unaptness to exercise the powers of government have given occasion to the institution thus to be superseded. But the abuse and perversion of this authority may be forcibly resisted!" This he termed, "one of those *mysteries*, the acknowledgment of which is much connected with its recluse sanctity, and its being withheld from daily and vulgar contemplation, to be reserved only for the great occasions which are worthy to draw it forth. It ought not to be too closely or curiously examined. Stated theoretically, it was always a snare: when a practical instance should arise, it would answer for itself. Every case of this kind must stand, as it were, upon its own individual responsibility; and must be such as to provide for itself, without the aid of any antecedent principle to lean upon. Such cases must look for no support from law, being all in direct con-

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tradiction to the particular constitution of our own, as well as to the general principle of all, government. There is an established organ of the general will, qualified, by its frame and constitution, to apply the collective wisdom of the nation to its collective interests, and to administer the sovereign power of the state on this secure and solid foundation. The sovereignty of parliament, thus explained, is neither more nor less than the sovereignty of the people itself. It is identically and precisely the same with it; appearing in the only visible, tangible, or perceptible, form in which it can be recognised in this country*."

* This speech of lord Minto is of high and unquestionable excellence. It discovers the most liberal and comprehensive views of the subject on which it treats; and all the practical conclusions are accurate and just. In one respect only it appears to admit of animadversion. His lordship seems to allow the *dilemma* which he suggests, to be, in a theoretical view, absolutely insuperable: thus affording a great and dangerous advantage to the abstract reasoners on politics, who will, doubtless, be proud to boast, that their speculative arguments admit of no refutation; and to bring them forward, on all occasions, as nothing less than demonstrations. But, agreeably to that only intelligible theory, which founds the principles of morals on the basis of utility, there is no axiom of civil or political morality, not even *justice* itself, which is not capable of suspension, if the exercise of it can, in any instance, be proved to be really pernicious to the general interests of society. Such was the nature of the protestant ascendency, so long established in Ireland; which, though in its

The question was at length put upon the address, and carried without a division; but a protest, very ably drawn, was signed on this occasion by the lords Holland, Thanet, and King.

abstract nature *unjust*, admitted of a complete practical justification from the causes so ably stated by lord Minto. The real practical injustice was in refusing to the catholics a participation of those privileges with which they might have been safely invested; in inflicting upon them positive penalties; and subjecting them to arbitrary and tyrannical restraints. Also, in speaking of the nature and extent of the sovereign power, lord Minto improperly treats it as partaking of the *mystical*. It is something too deep, and too sacred, to be inquired into. But there is no reason whatever to represent government, like the Fame of Virgil, as standing with its feet upon the earth, and its head enveloped in the clouds. Obedience to government, like all other great moral duties, is founded on the basis of utility; and it is, like the rest, capable of suspension, when it evidently counteracts the end and object for which it was designed,—the welfare of the community at large. But this is a case which no constitution or frame of government can pre-suppose: therefore, in a general or legal sense, the sovereign authority has no limits. It is all-powerful to do good; and to do evil, is incompatible with its end and essence. The popular maxims of government consequently, which refer all to the people, are true in a certain sense; and it is infinitely better to explain that sense, and to show how totally inconsistent it is with the spirit of licentiousness and anarchy, than to oppose, to the fury of wild democracy, the shield, or rather the veil, of mysticism, which will be easily and instantly torn asunder. Nothing can, on the one hand, be more explicit, than the famous declaration of Blackstone, respecting those ultimate but dormant rights which

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Address of both houses to the king, approbatory of the union.

A committee was then named, consisting of lord Grenville, lord Auckland, the bishop of Landaff, and lord Minto, to draw up an address conformable to the motion; which being effected, the commons, in a second conference (April 12), were invited to join in the same, and to agree that it should be presented to his majesty as the address of both houses of parliament; which was accordingly done in the most solemn manner: and thus the business rested for the remainder of the present year.

Motion of Mr. Wilberforce on the slave-trade.

In the course of the session, the subject of the slave-trade was (March 1st) again agitated, and upon somewhat novel ground. Mr. Wilberforce observed, that it was now eleven years since he had first held out this system of wickedness and cruelty to the indignant reprobation of that house. He was for a time cheered under his labors by the hope of ultimate success; but he now almost despaired of seeing the abolition

necessarily inhere in the community, and which, in extreme circumstances, may be, and have been, called into action: nor, on the other hand, can any general assertion of the rights of the people be expressed in a mode more respectful to government, or more carefully guarded against misconstruction. And this is surely a far more eligible mode of defence, even in relation to government itself, its interest, and its honor, than to take shelter in the regions of incomprehensibility; as lord Minto has done, in language almost literally copied from Mr. Burke.

effected by a British parliament: and, with respect to the colonial legislatures, it was the vainest of expectations that they would enforce any system of reform which might render the further importation of slaves unnecessary. The assembly of Jamaica had, indeed, spoken out, and put the point at issue out of controversy. For his part, he respected them for so doing: they had acted more honorably, in declaring their determination never to assist in abolishing the slave-trade, than if they had disguised their sentiments, to appear to co-operate with the house of commons. In the conclusion of their address to his majesty they declared, that, in the legislative measures which they should introduce for the benefit of their slaves, they were actuated by motives of humanity only, and not by any view to the termination of the slave-trade. "The right of obtaining *laborers* from Africa," for such was the softening phrase by which they were willing to conceal the evils which they resolved to perpetuate, "is secured to your majesty's subjects in this colony by several British acts of parliament, and several proclamations of your majesty's royal ancestors. They, or their predecessors, have emigrated, and settled in Jamaica, under the most solemn promises of this assistance; and they can never give up, or do any act that may render this essential right doubtful." As to posi-

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tive regulations, Mr. Wilberforce observed, that the legal code of the Spaniards had long and justly been celebrated for its mildness and beneficence: but had it rendered the slave-trade unnecessary? Laws of this kind could not alter the state of society, and the moral order of things. We were engaged in a war with a nation which had cast off all regard for those sacred principles which almost all men professed to venerate: yet France had abolished the slave-trade; while we, contrary to our own acknowledgments of the nefariousness of this traffic, still continued to support and encourage it. In Africa, we were only known as corrupters and destroyers; and, if there existed an over-ruling Providence, it might surely be expected that the moral government of the universe would in some mode be signally vindicated. For himself, he had performed his duty: he solemnly protested against the consequences which should ensue from this obstinate and daring perseverance in guilt; and he washed his hands of the blood which might be shed both in the eastern and the western world.

A committee being then moved for, in order to take the state of the slave-trade into consideration, a very long debate ensued; in the course of which Mr. Dundas took upon him to affirm, that the abolition of the slave-trade *could not* be

effected without the consent and concurrence of the colonies themselves. We did not possess the physical means of rendering the resolution efficient. The trade would still be carried on, and the supply would be attained, with this difference, that it was now conducted under the control and regulation of the house; whereas, then it would be carried on by other nations, free from all the salutary and humane regulations enforced by the parliament of this country.

Mr. Windham observed, that people fond of abstract rights were apt to make very important mistakes. Sudden and violent remedies often created greater mischief than that which they were intended to rectify. It was not difficult to show the absurdity of this system of reversing the cause of an evil, by way of cure. Thus, for instance, if a man were thrown out of a high window, and fractured a limb, it would be but an indifferent mode of cure to throw him up again. In the present case, it was his opinion not to attempt a direct reversal of the system, though bad, but to refer the amelioration of the condition of the slaves to the colonial assemblies, as the wiser course of policy.

Mr. Pitt made, as on former occasions, a most eloquent speech in favor of the immediate abolition; for which he said the honor of the British name stood pledged. The slave-trade was a traf-

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fic declared, by that house, to be against justice, against humanity, against religion, and every social compact. It had been, and still was, carried on under our laws, by our subjects, from our ports, with our capital; and shall it be asserted, that it is impossible for us to abolish it effectually without the consent of the colonial assemblies? Were we to ask the advice, and wait for the consent, of these assemblies, before we dared to discontinue the practice of tearing those helpless victims of misery from their families and native land? It had been observed, that the reverse of wrong was not always right: but how did this maxim apply to the present case? Was it proposed to send the negroes back to Africa? to throw any of those wretches who had their bones fractured, or their limbs dislocated, by their fall from a great height, up again? No: it was merely desired that no more should be thrown out of the window. The right honorable gentleman thought, as the custom had so long continued, it would be unwise to act precipitately. On this point he differed essentially: positive evil could not be too soon remedied; a system of horror too soon abolished: it was a murderous traffic; and the safety of our dominions also depended upon the improvement of the condition of the negroes. He hoped the house would agree at once to the measure proposed: or, if

they would not do so, declare expressly and specifically for what purpose the trade was to be continued. He said, that the boundary should be marked for the cultivation of the land: that new land should not be cultivated by the labor of imported negroes; for, if this were to be allowed, there was no conjecturing where it would end: that the notion which some people entertained, of their *right* to cultivate all the lands held in grants from the crown, was a great error. He would no more allow the cultivation of fresh lands, by the labor of newly imported negroes, than he should assent to any new colony being established upon the same system on any newly-discovered territory. They were both equally repugnant to the spirit of the resolutions of the house, and to the terms on which even the planters pretended they had a right to the importation of negroes.

Mr. Wilberforce's motion negatived.

On dividing the house, 54 members only voted for, and 84 against, the appointment of the committee proposed by Mr. Wilberforce.

Statement of India affairs.

On the 12th of March, Mr. Dundas made his annual statement of India accounts. The result was, that the debts of the company had increased, during the current year, from 5,590,000*l.* to 7,479,000*l.*; and the consequent increase of interest, payable annually, amounted, at 8 per cent., to 157,430*l.* The assets of the company had, during the same period, according to the

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same statement, increased from 8,958,000*l.* to 10,531,000*l.* *i. e.* about 1,573,000*l.*; so that the company was a loser, upon the balance, to the amount of 575,000*l.* But the increase of the debt bearing interest, was unfortunately a fact much more clearly made out than the increase of the assets; and, unless supported by the strong arm of government, the affairs of the company were evidently in a very precarious and alarming state.

There was a disputed article of one million due to the nabob of Arcot. The East-India company had been trustees for the payment of certain debts, of an extraordinary nature, from the nabob to certain individuals connected with the company; and the sum in question had been sequestrated out of the nabob's revenues. But the debts themselves being subsequently annihilated by act of parliament, the nabob, of course, redemanded the deposit: but the company said, "No; it has been expended for the purpose of the war: you can have, therefore, no claim upon us for its restitution; or, at best, it is but a loan." But this counter-claim of the company not being, *as yet*, fully established, Mr. Dundas acknowledged the propriety of regarding it, in the present statement of accounts, as a debt due to the nabob.

Towards the close of the session, a measure, most

odious in its nature, of which the first mover and chief advocate was lord Grenville, passed through both houses with surprising facility. This was a bill rendering perpetual those horrid penalties for the crime of treason which, by the operation of an act passed at a crisis of alarm and expected rebellion, were, not without strong opposition, extended to the death of the sons of the late Pretender; the last of whom, cardinal York, was now become very aged and infirm. A protest was, however, entered, by the lords Ponsonby and Holland, against this bill; which, though drawn in concise terms, exposed in a just and striking manner the barbarity and iniquity of the principle on which it was founded. But it was now the fashion to stigmatise all advances in humanity and civilization, or improvements in jurisprudence, as dangerous and democratic innovations; and to extol, on all occasions, the provident sagacity of our ancestors; as if, in the opinion of these declaimers, all wisdom had died with their fathers, and nothing but folly remained to themselves.

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Treason-forfeiture bill.

protested against.

The protesting peers declared their dissent from the measure,

First, Because the statute which it was by this bill proposed to make perpetual, appeared to them unjust and impolitic, and contrary to the mild spirit of the laws of England. Unjust, be-

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cause it reduces to poverty and ruin children for the crimes of their ancestors: impolitic, because, instead of healing the divisions and animosities occasioned by civil war, it tends to make them continue. It appeared, moreover, contrary to the express declaration of MAGNA CHARTA, which says, that no person shall be disinherited, or deprived of his franchises, unless he be heard in his defence; for in this case we disinherit persons who cannot be heard, and who have committed no crime.

Secondly, Because it does not appear that any urgent necessity calls for the immediate adoption of this law, at this late period of the session, when it cannot receive the due consideration which a question of this sort deserves, and when the attendance is so thin in this house.

Thirdly, Because we have the satisfaction of thinking, that it is not necessary for the preservation of his majesty, whose throne cannot be more secure by severe penal statutes. We, therefore, will not agree to destroy that hope, which sir William Blackstone exultingly says our posterity may entertain, "that corruption in blood may one day be abolished and forgotten."

The parliament was prorogued on the 12th of July (1799): upon which occasion his majesty was pleased to declare, "that the decision and energy

which distinguished the councils of his ally the emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert so happily established between them, would enable him to employ, to the greatest advantage, the powerful means entrusted to him by parliament, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honor of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe."

Session of Irish parliament.

On the 22d of January (1799), the very day on which the message on the union was delivered to the two British houses of parliament, the session of the Irish parliament commenced at Dublin; and a speech was on this occasion made by the lord-lieutenant, which concluded with the following analogous declaration: "The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources, of the British empire."

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Vehement debates on the address.

Irish house of peers favourable to the union.

The address brought forward in the house of peers was opposed chiefly by the lords Powerscourt and Bellamont; who severally moved amendments, expressive of their disapprobation of a legislative union with Great Britain. On the first division, the numbers were 46 to 19, and on the last, 35 to 17, in favor of the court. But it was in the house of commons that the grand battle was expected to be fought.

No sooner had the address of thanks been moved in that assembly, than sir John Parnell, who had long filled, with high reputation, the office of chancellor of the exchequer, from which he had been recently dismissed, rose to reprobate the project of a union while yet *in embryo*. As far as he could judge of the scheme, from what he already knew of it, he believed it to be adverse to the permanent interest of Ireland, and inconsistent with the rights of the people—rights, which, having been delegated to the care of parliament, ought not to be surrendered by a representative body. It would affect the constitution, the trade, and the property, of the country. The constitution would be no more, when the legislature of Ireland was merged in that of Great Britain, and the concerns of the former country were to be entrusted to the care of men who would not be its representatives; who would have different interests, and would be too pre-

judiced, and too remote, to conduct its affairs with justice or propriety. What would an Englishman say, if Ireland should propose to him the suppression of one half of the number of representatives of his country, and the substitution of Irishmen for them? Would he be satisfied with an assurance, that England would be as well represented by Irish as by English members? Yet even this would be a much fairer proposal than that which was now made to Ireland. By occasioning the absence of a great number of the nobility and gentry, it would diminish, in a serious degree, both the capital and the consumption of the country. It would lay a foundation for permanent discontent, which would increase with the increasing evils the people of Ireland would experience from this measure. A similar proposition had, indeed, been acceded to by Scotland: But that country, a century ago, was in circumstances very different from those in which Ireland now stood. Scotland could not reject the proposal, without exposing herself to a contest which might have terminated in her ruin. A union between the British nations was necessary, to secure the two crowns to the same sovereign; but no such hazard existed in the present instance, for the crown of Ireland was annexed to that of Britain by indissoluble ties. That a union would secure the country against

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external attack he denied; for a foreign enemy would not be deterred from invasion by an act of parliament. He exhorted the house to disprove the popular charge of corrupt influence, by a unanimous rejection of the present proposal; and he concluded with the old and famous declaration, substituting Ireland for England, "*Nolumus leges* HIBERNIÆ *mutari.*"

Mr. George Ponsonby, brother to the earl of Besborough, a barrister of high reputation and distinguished talents, opposed, in strong terms, every idea of a legislative union, as a scheme that would injure the prosperity and destroy the liberties of Ireland. He even denied the competency of the legislature to the adoption of a measure invasive of the rights of the people and subversive of the constitution of the country. But, if parliament had an undoubted authority to exercise such power, it would, he contended, be the height of folly to make such a sacrifice to the pride of Britain. What influence would a hundred Irish members have, absorbed in an assembly of 558 British members? They must be mere ciphers in the united legislature, and would be constrained, on every occasion, to submit to the dictates of a haughty and powerful majority. For six centuries, he affirmed, the Irish nation had been precluded, by a series of oppressions, from the enjoyment of those advantages

with which nature had blessed them; and he deprecated the subjection of his country to the sway of a British parliament; declaring his fervent wishes for the preservation of that legislative independence, which was the best foundation of the national happiness. Mr. Ponsonby also indignantly condemned the means that had been used for the promotion of this pernicious end; alluding to the dismission of sir John Parnel, as an example calculated to deter every possessor of office from a conscientious disclosure of his opinion, if it should happen to be adverse to the views of the court. He concluded with moving, as an amendment to the address, "that the house should declare its resolution of maintaining the right of the people of Ireland to a resident and independent legislature, as recognised by the British parliament in 1782, and finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two kingdoms.

Mr. Conolly, who was generally considered, in point of property and influence, as the first commoner in Ireland, avowed his sentiments to be decidedly in favor of the measure of a union. He compared the absurdity of two independent legislatures in one empire, to the unnatural phænomenon of two heads on one pair of shoulders. Many of the evils of Ireland, he was convinced, had arisen from this source. Yet an hundred

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and sixteen placemen and pensioners, who had been known at one time to occupy seats in that house, showed how little of the real spirit of independence existed amongst them.

The secretary of state, lord Castlereagh, remarked, that an acquiescence in the address did not involve an approbation of legislative union. It only promised, that the house would deliberate on the best means of improving the connexion between the two kingdoms, and augmenting the energy of the empire. That these desirable ends would be most effectually secured by an incorporation of the realms, he was fully persuaded; but the members who might vote for the address, would not be bound to give their sanction to that opinion. To tranquillise and improve Ireland, and consolidate the strength and glory of the empire, were the real aim of the projectors of the measure in contemplation: and they surely deserved to be hailed by public gratitude, rather than attacked by malice and calumny. The miseries of the country were indisputably great; and, for want of a speedy remedy, might lead to national ruin. Its state and government exhibited no fixed principles on which the human mind could rest; no one standard to which its different prejudices might be accommodated. By an incorporation with Britain, a common interest would be established; and the welfare of one

country would be that of the other. Religious dissensions would be allayed; jealousy and prejudice would subside; trade would greatly flourish; a respectable class of men, between the landlord and mere peasant, would arise; and the morals of the lowest order of inhabitants be improved. The increase of the number of absentees, and other incidental inconveniences, would be of very trifling import, compared with the safety and prosperity that would result from the measure. He did not expect to hear, from constitutional lawyers, the allegation of parliamentary incompetence. It was clear to him, that a legislative body was at all times competent to the adoption of the most effectual means of promoting the general welfare. For that purpose the parliament was instituted; and, as a union was calculated for such an object without violating the principles of the constitution, the denial of competency might justly be exploded.

Mr. Corry, who had succeeded sir John Parnell in the office of chancellor of the exchequer, confirmed the assertion of the secretary of state, that no member would be considered as pledged by the address. The *idea* of a legislative union was honestly avowed, but every one would remain at full liberty to oppose it. He panegyrised the British constitution, and expatiated on the advantages of that consolidation which would

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admit Ireland to the participation of all its blessings.

This great and memorable debate lasted no less than twenty hours; and, in the course of it, a very large proportion of the members delivered their sentiments. The contest was so close, that only a majority of ONE appeared against the amendment;—the numbers being, on the division, 106 and 105; and, when the question was put for agreeing to the address, the ministry had in their favor 107 against 105 voices. During the latter period of the debate, which continued till noon on the second day, the avenues to the house were crowded with people anxious to hear the result; which, when known, was hailed as a victory on the part of the anti-unionists, and the metropolis resounded with acclamations. The leaders of the opposition, elevated with hope, prepared for another conflict, which they did not doubt would give them a decided superiority.

The address was reported two days afterwards (January 24); when sir Laurence Parsons rose, and, with much force of eloquence, opposed its being received. He had hoped, he said, that the opinions lately expressed in that house would have occasioned a dereliction of the proposal: but, as the ministry resolved to persist in it, he was glad that such pertinacity afforded an opportunity to those gentlemen who had supported the

measure on a former night to retrieve their characters from the disgrace which they must have incurred by a conduct so hostile to the honor and liberties of their country. The proposal, he said, arose from a wish, on the part of England, to recover that dominion over the Irish which she had lost in 1782. Two considerations ought to regulate the adoption of any public measure; one was, whether it was intrinsically good; the other, whether it agreed with the temper and disposition of the people. Were these principles included in the present measure? Even if it were a good scheme, it would be impolitic to press it in opposition to the general will; and, if it were bad, the consequences of persistence in it might be dreadful. "But," exclaimed this ardent speaker, "it cannot be carried into effect; for every gentleman in Ireland will sooner part with his life, than give up the independence of his country. Let, then, this scandalous and irritating measure be relinquished; and let the country, panting from its recent struggles and its present alarms, repose at last in tranquillity!"

Lord Castlereagh, in reply, allowed that ministers did not intend to relinquish the measure, while they had any hope of success. If they should, they would be unworthy of the situations which they filled; and might be accused of a disregard to the interests of their country and the

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empire. The parliament, he hoped, would have too just a sense of its own character to dismiss a question of such importance, without a sober and deliberate discussion. The measure ought not to be sacrificed to the clamors of faction. It was, perhaps, the first virtue of ministers, to maintain a dignified firmness against faction. The dismission of those who were unfriendly to a union, could not justly be condemned. It was a part of the king's prerogative, to determine who should be his servants; and, as to himself, no obloquy or calumny should deter him from the prosecution of a beneficial scheme.

Mr. John Beresford, the leader of a great and dominant party in the kingdom, professed his desire of a union, as thinking it the best remedy for the miserable condition to which Ireland was reduced by the perpetual conflict of contending interests.

Sir John Parnell pronounced it degrading to the dignity of parliament, to entertain a question, whether it should put an end to its own existence. He animadverted on the absurdity of pretending, as some had done, that it was inconsistent or presumptuous to declare against a union, without knowing the terms, or understanding the true nature of the question. Could any man be ignorant, that the question was, whether the parliament of Ireland and the independence of the nation should be given up for ever? As the

ministers would not bind themselves by a promise to preserve these great objects, the parliament, he hoped, would determine the point, by voting that it would never surrender the legislative independence of the realm.

Dissent of the Irish commons.

After a violent debate, scarcely inferior in length or asperity to the former, a division took place, when the motion of sir Laurence Parsons, for the omission of the obnoxious clause in the address, prevailed, by a majority of 111 to 106 voices.

State of parties in Ireland.

The exultation of the metropolis rose to a great height on this defeat of the ministry. The unionists were insulted and calumniated by every possible mode of inventive malignity. On the other hand, the chief speakers of opposition acquired a sudden and extraordinary increase of popularity. Their eloquence was extolled with hyperbolic praise, and their patriotism applauded in high-flown terms of admiration and gratitude. Attentive and calm observers nevertheless remarked, that the vehement enthusiasm of the capital did not extend to the nation at large. It was apparent, that the weight of the landed interest was in favor of the measure; that Cork, the second city of the kingdom, and the commercial towns in general, though greatly agitated and divided, were, upon the whole, rather friendly than hostile to it; that government had secured

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The ministry gain ground in parliament.

the chief political interests of the country, which, added to the powerful means of influence, corrupt or constitutional, possessed by the crown, gave a mighty and apparently irresistible force to its operations. But, above all, it was perceivable that the great mass of the Irish nation, consisting of the Roman-catholics—sunk into apathy and almost into despair—made no effort in opposition to the measure. They were fully sensible that their condition could scarcely be made worse; there was a possibility that it might be made better by a union; and far from feeling, in their present circumstances, those emotions of national pride which the extinction of Irish independency was calculated so severely to wound, they rather saw, with a sensation of pleasure, the chagrin and humiliation of their most inveterate adversaries, those petty protestant tyrants, who arrogated to themselves the title of THE NATION, to the exclusion of three-fourths of the community. Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged that the sentiments of a great majority of persons of weight and influence, who acted with government on this occasion, were powerfully biassed in favour of the measure by the indelible impression of recent events; and it may be inferred, from the formidable efforts actually made by the opponents of this project in parliament, that the whole influence of government, vast and unbounded as it

may seem, would in ordinary circumstances have been found wholly unequal to the accomplishment of so daring and difficult a measure.

A large proportion of counties, cities, and towns, throughout the kingdom, sent up addresses expressive of their detestation of the design of a legislative union. The counter-addresses and resolutions passed in favor of the project were much inferior in number; but this was easily accounted for, even supposing the unionists to be equal or superior in this respect to the opposers of the measure. For that enthusiasm which prompts to active and vigorous exertion was entirely with the anti-unionists; while the friends of the union, unless influenced by motives foreign to the merits of the project, contented themselves, for the most part, with a calm and noiseless approbation.

The county of Galway distinguished itself, however, among a few others, by a strong contest, when the resolutions condemnatory of the union were proposed: and the archbishop of Tuam, metropolitan of Connaught, supported by very many respectable gentlemen of the county, protested against them. In the town of Galway, also, an address was voted in favor of an incorporative union. "In the constitution of the empire," say these addressers, "as it at present stands, we discover the seeds of party animosity and national jealousy—a protestant parliament,

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and a catholic people! Hence religious dissension and civil discord.—Two legislatures in the same empire! Hence local prejudices and commercial rivalry! For this radical defect in the polity of the empire, we can see but one remedy, and that remedy is an union."

Lord Corry's motion rejected.

On the 15th of February, lord Corry, son of the earl of Belmore, moved "That the house of commons should resolve itself into a general committee on the state of the nation, and consider of an address to the king, declaring an inviolable attachment to British connexion; and representing a separate independent parliament, as essential to the interest and prosperity of Ireland." This was opposed by lord Castlereagh, as wholly superfluous; it not being the intention of the ministry to press the measure of union at a time of public irritation. Mr. Ponsonby ably supported the motion, and with great spirit repelled the insinuation, that sinister artifices had been employed, to delude the country gentlemen into a factious opposition to the measure. He was, however, well pleased at the firmness with which many of them had expressed their opinions; and he had no doubt that, with good sense and patriotism only for their guides, they would escape the *Pitt-falls* with which the ways of parliament were overspread. On the division, 108 gave their suffrages for the motion, against 128

who opposed it; and it was evident that the court-party were gradually gaining strength.

Mr. Ponsonby's motion rejected.

As one of the chief arguments in favor of a legislative union was founded on the danger of an eventual division of the executive power, which had in fact appeared extremely probable ten years since upon the proceedings respecting the regency, a bill was brought forward early in the month of April, by Mr. Ponsonby, to preclude future difference between the parliaments of the two realms in the appointment of a regent. This was opposed by lord Castlereagh, as a delusive measure, which, while it pretended to obviate the effect, left the cause of the evil untouched; and would not prevent the disagreement of two independent legislatures, by one or other of whose opinions the regent must necessarily be influenced.

Mr. Foster, the speaker of the house, a man of great knowledge and talents, in the course of the debate, attracted profound attention by an elaborate speech in favor of the bill, and in opposition to the general principle of a legislative union. As the existing constitution conferred benefits which could from no other system be so confidently expected, he saw no sufficient reason for a change which amounted to an absolute subversion of it. Though there was a possibility of a serious difference of opinion be-

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tween the two parliaments, the probability of this was not so great as to require a surrender of the constitution, for the purpose of preventing such discordancy; and the present bill would remove the only apparent foundation of alarm. The two houses of either parliament might disagree, and ought, by parity of reasoning, to be formed into one assembly; but a system, which was proved by experience to answer all the beneficial ends of government, ought not to be sacrificed to idle speculation. Commerce, the speaker affirmed to be already in a thriving state, requiring only the care and attention of its natural protectors; and, as to religion, an Irish parliament might adjust all points in which the protestants or catholics were concerned, as effectually as an imperial legislature; and he urged the natives of Ireland, whether protestant or catholic, alike interested in its trade, its prosperity, and its freedom, to join all hands and hearts together, dismissing all local and partial prejudices, to save their common country from the danger which threatened her.

Government determined to persevere.

After great debate, the further consideration of the bill was postponed till the 1st of August, and the ministry gained another important, though indecisive, victory. On the termination, however, of the session (June 1, 1799), it manifestly appeared that the court were firmly resolved to

persevere in their original design. The lord-lieutenant, on this occasion, informed the two houses, "that he had his majesty's particular commands, to acquaint them that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain had been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland; and he declared that his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests, of his subjects in both kingdoms, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution." And in the royal speech, at the conclusion of the British session (July 12, 1799), the king went so far as to declare, "that the ultimate security of Ireland could alone be ensured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain; and I am happy," said this well-intentioned monarch, "to observe that the sentiments manifested by numerous and respectable descriptions of my Irish subjects justify the hope, that the accomplishment of this great and salutary work will be proved to be as much the joint wish, as it unquestionably is the common interest, of both my kingdoms."

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The congress of Rastadt had, from the beginning of the present year (1799), become a mere

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form and mockery of negotiation, serving only as a pretext for delay—the armies of neither of the belligerent powers being yet ready to enter the field. Austria awaited with impatience the arrival of the Russians, and the approach of that season of the year when the operations concerted between the imperial courts on the side of Italy and the Tyrol might commence; and France was solicitous to replace, by military conscriptions, the dreadful void which appeared in all the armies of the republic. The renewal of the war was, however, regarded with aversion by all classes of the nation. Every degree of confidence in the government was lost, the most gloomy apprehensions were entertained, and defeat and disgrace were already anticipated.

Dilatory and ineffective proceedings of the congress at Radstadt.

At the end of February, general Jourdain began his march into Suabia; but the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt informed count Metternich, head of the deputation of the empire, "that the march of the army ought to be considered as a precaution rendered necessary by circumstances; and that the directory persisted in the intention of concluding peace with the empire, if the empire would declare itself against the march of the Russians." The deputation, the majority of whose members sincerely wished for peace, came to a *conclusum*, that the note in question should be sent to the diet, accompanied by a declara-

Recommencement of hostilities between Austria and France.

tion, stating the urgent necessity of such an answer as would enable them to resume the negotiation. But the Austrian minister, in a note dated March 4, signified, in explicit terms, how much this proceeding was disagreeable to his imperial majesty; and that all further declaration should have been suspended till the ulterior decision of the emperor and the empire, agreeably to the former *conclusum* of the deputation.

Army of general Jourdain crosses the Rhine.

But hostilities between the emperor and France had actually commenced. The army of Jourdain, amounting to forty thousand men, had crossed the Rhine at Kehl and Basle, March 1st. A secondary army, under the command of general Bernadotte, had at the same time advanced into the palatinate, and penetrated as far as Hailbron. The great object of Jourdain was to prevent the junction of the Austrians and Russians on the Adige. For this purpose, an attack was made upon the Tyrol. The army of Jourdain, now styled the army of the Danube, was strongly supported by the force stationed in Switzerland, under general Massena, which had gained the heights of the lake of Constance, and threatened the entrance of the Grisons. The archduke Charles passed the Lech on the 5th of March, and took a position on the Inn, parallel to the general line of the operations of the French. The campaign was opened with success by ge-

Operations in Germany and Switzerland.

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neral Massena, who captured the important fortress of Luciensteig by assault. Another division of Massena's army, having passed the Rhine at Ragatz, and secured the post of Holdenstein, the Austrian general Auffenberg, being nearly surrounded, was compelled to capitulate, and the town of Coire was instantly occupied by the French.

No communication, however, could take place between the armies of Jourdain and Massena, on the eastern side of the Lake of Constance, while the Austrians maintained possession of Feldkirch. On the 12th of March, general Jourdain made a fierce attack upon the enemy intrenched, under the command of the gallant general Hotze, at that place; but was repulsed with considerable loss, and fell back on Dillengen, closely followed by the archduke, who took a position in sight of the French, a narrow vally and rivulet only separating the two armies. One of Jourdain's adjutants presented himself before the Austrian camp, to ask if the dispatches from Vienna, expected in return to the ulterior demands of the directory, had arrived? On receiving an answer in the negative, he proclaimed the rupture of the armistice. This formality was followed by a very brisk attack on the vanguard of the Austrian army, which retreated to the main body. The next day the Austrians attacked the French with

Successes of the archduke Charles.

equal vigor, and far superior force, throughout the whole extent of their line; and the latter were in their turn compelled to retreat to Stockach. Here another bloody and obstinate engagement took place, on the 25th of March. Night alone put an end to the carnage, and ten thousand men were left dead or dying on the field of battle. The loss was probably nearly equal; but the effect was far more seriously felt by the French than the Austrians; and, on the morning succeeding, general Jourdain continued his retreat, somewhat precipitately, towards Schaffhausen and Basle. The efforts of this commander had been so great, in proportion to his force, that the whole weight of public indignation in France fell entirely upon the executive government, which had not furnished him with the means of success. In obeying the order of the directory, to cross the Rhine, he stated to them the insufficiency of the force which he commanded to the purpose of an invasion; and observed, that "it would be more easy to find a glorious death, from such an unequal contest, than to reap any laurels." The answer of general Scherer, the war-minister, to this dispatch, consisted merely of common-place impertinence. He allowed "that the disproportion between the forces of Jourdain and those of the archduke might occasion disquietude in some circumstances; but that superiority of numbers

Battle of Stockach.

Retreat of Jourdain.

Imbecility of the directorial government

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could never terrify an army led by the conqueror of Fleurus, &c."—and talked of "national vengeance to be exercised against perfidious governments."

General Lecourbe penetrates into the Tyrol.

Although general Massena had failed in repeated attempts to force the post of Feldkirch, the different detachments from his division had penetrated into the mountains of the Tyrol towards the sources of the Inn and the Adige, and had rendered themselves masters, in great measure, of this key both of Germany and Italy. General Laudohn guarded, however, the defiles towards the Engadine and the Valteline with great care; and general Lecourbe, who commanded in the Tyrol, found it difficult to surprise his vigilance. Generals Desolles and Loiseau being severally directed to turn the flanks of the Austrian army, performed this service with great dexterity; the former in particular, notwithstanding the ices and snows, scaling the rugged and hitherto inaccessible mountains which separate the sources of the Adda and the Adige. General Lecourbe commanded in person the attack in front; and scarcely could general Laudohn force his way, with the loss of his baggage and cannon, through the chain of the French posts, to the valley of the Adige, called Venosta, where he found general Bellegarde, who now thought it expedient to retreat still further, in order to cover Botzen, and press the levy of the Tyrolian militia.

The campaign in Italy had not opened when that on the Danube seemed closed by the retreat of Jourdain, whose army had been the victim of the incapacity and corruption of the directory and their agents; particularly of Scherer, minister of war, who was at length dismissed from his post. But scarcely had the public time to congratulate themselves on this event, when it was announced, that this justly obnoxious person was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in Lombardy.

General Scherer appointed to the chief command in Lombardy.

The whole of Italy, from the western Alps to the Adige, and from the Venetian frontier to Sicily, was at this period in possession of the French; and the revolutionary spirit having strongly seized the minds of a great majority of the more daring and enterprising part of the Italians, a vast force might have been collected, under an able and experienced leader, for the defence of the country; a force which, in conjunction with the French, might have defied every effort of the combined powers. But the directory had, by their weak and oppressive policy, alienated the hearts of the Italians, as much as those of the Gallic nation.

Trouvé, under the title of ambassador of France to the Cisalpine republic, had domineered over that state with the most insolent and capri-

Oppressions of the directory.

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cious tyranny. Not even the forms of a free government were suffered to subsist: a new constitution was imperiously proposed to, or, to speak more properly, imposed by force upon, them; and the Cisalpines, after tasting the sweets of liberty and independence, were enraged to find their pretended guardians converted into the most cruel oppressors.

The principal changes in the new constitution (framed for the Cisalpines by the directory, and said to be the immediate fabrication of Lepaux, who designed it as a model for the future improvement of the French government,) were the diminution of the number of the legislative body; the lessening the number of departments; a prorogation of three months in every year; the perpetual right of the ex-directors to sit in the council of ancients; the renovation of a third of the councils every two years; the nomination to every rank in the army by the directory—who were also to have the liberty of the press under their control, as well as the finances; and the initiative in the enacting of laws.

Liguria, Tuscany, Rome, and even Lucca, groaned under the directorial yoke: what seemed most, however, to excite the public astonishment, was the disgraceful dismission of the ambassadors of the Neapolitan government, so recently esta-

blished by the immediate instrumentality of France; but it now appeared that the directory did not *will* a Neapolitan republic.

Disasters of the army under general Scherer.

On assuming the command, general Scherer assembled his troops on the Venetian frontier, while the Austrian army formed itself, under the orders of general Kray, along the left side of the Adige. On the 26th of March, the whole Austrian line, between the Lake of Garda and that river, was attacked by six divisions; three of which attempted to force the posts on the lake, in order to take Verona in the rear. This plan, concerted by general Moreau, who led the three divisions, was, so far as related to himself, crowned with success. They carried the redoubts and intrenchments, took possession of Rivoli, and, passing the Adige, cut the line of the Austrian troops, part of which retreated far into the valley. The remaining divisions, under the command of Scherer in person, furiously attacked the outposts of Verona, where they were received with such intrepidity by the Austrians, that the fort of St. Maximin was taken and retaken seven different times. In the result, the French were repulsed, and general Scherer, contrary to the pressing remonstrances of Moreau, who deprecated as fatal this retrograde movement, determined to repass the Adige, and retreat to Peschiera. In a few days,

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however, throwing bridges over the Adige, he repeated his attack on the Austrian line, but was again repulsed with great slaughter; and the bridges having been broken down by a detachment which took the French in the rear, the retreat was precluded of many thousands, who were either entirely cut off, or dispersed among the neighbouring mountains. The loss of the French, on that day, was estimated at about seven thousand men.

Battle of Magnan.

Thus defeated in his various enterprises, Scherer drew off (April 1) his forces from the Lake of Garda, after throwing a strong garrison into Peschiera, and concentrated his army near Magnan. Meanwhile the Austrian army passed the Adige, and General Scherer determined (April 5) to hazard a third attack. General Kray was well prepared for the conflict, and equally resolved not to decline so favourable an opportunity of engaging a retreating adversary. The battle was long and desperate. Every point of the line, on which the columns met, was disputed with great obstinacy. Moreau pierced through the centre, and fought under the walls of Verona. On the other hand, the left column of the Austrian army, having succeeded in turning the right of the French, threw the division on that side into confusion, and in the end decided the victory.

The next day, Scherer began his retreat to Roverbello, and passed the Mincio at Goito. The capture of Governolo, the blockade of Peschiera and Mantua, and the total interruption of the communication of Scherer with Ferrara and Modena, were the immediate consequences of the victory of Magnan. Such was the situation of affairs in Italy at the moment of the arrival of the first columns of the Russian army.

General Lecourbe evacuates the Tyrol.

The successes of Lecourbe, in the Tyrol, were no longer useful, since the plan of offensive war was relinquished by Scherer. He therefore withdrew, not without being much harassed by the enemy, into the Engadine.

General Jourdain superceded by general Massena.

General Jourdain, in consequence of his continued misunderstanding with the directory, had been superceded, and the chief command conferred upon Massena; who, with his united force, took a strong position along the left side of the Rhine, from the Grisons to the extent of the territory occupied by the French, and fixed his head quarters at Basle. About the middle of April, the archduke invested Schaffhausen; and, the gates being forced, the Austrians entered the city sword in hand, the French retreating precipitately across the Rhine; and, on leaving the town, they destroyed the bridge so much famed for its singular construction.

The French army in Italy, in the mean time,

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Arrival of the Russians in Italy under marshal Suwaroff.

continued its march beyond the Oglio and Chiusa, while general Kray passed the Mincio with his main force. The vanguard of the Russians, under the famous Suwaroff, had by this time entered the beautiful plains of Italy, reaching Verona on the 13th of April*; and, pressing the march of his columns, he quickly joined the Austrians, and assumed the chief command of the imperial armies. Cremona was now evacuated by the French, who fell back behind the Adda; and, on the 17th of April, general Scherer, covered with disgrace and confusion, after having caused the ruin of the army of the Danube as minister, and that of Italy as commander, was compelled to abandon a station which he was so unworthy to fill; and general Moreau was now entrusted with the hazardous direction of this dispirited and diminished force. Against such decided superiority, no talents could avail. Peschiera and Brescia were reduced to surrender at discretion,

General Scherer resigns the command to general Moreau.

* The prostrate South to the destroyer yields
Her boasted titles, and her golden fields.
With grim delight, the brood of Winter view
A brighter day, and heavens of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

GRAY.

and Mantua was closely blockaded. The head-quarters of the French were now removed to Milan, and the army intrenched itself on the Adda; while general Moreau impatiently awaited the reinforcements promised from France; expecting also to be joined by the division which occupied Tuscany, commanded by general Macdonald, and another detached from the army of Massena, under general Desolles. Meanwhile the archduke remained indisposed at Stockach, and the war on the Rhine seemed for a time suspended.

Negotiation of Rastadt finally broken off.

On the 8th of April, count Metternich informed the French ministers, at Rastadt, that he had received a formal order from his imperial majesty, in his quality of chief of the empire, to take no further part in the negotiations for peace, since the circumstances and relations under which the congress had assembled were totally changed; and that he should immediately leave the place of congress. The deputation of the empire, however, refused to concur in this resolution, and contented themselves with referring the decision to the general diet. Divers members, nevertheless, of the deputation left Rastadt immediately on the departure of count Metternich. The bark retained for the conveyance of the French ministers having been cut away by an Austrian

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patrole, and complaint being made of this infraction of the law of nations to the grand chancellor of the empire, baron d'Albini, answer was returned, that he would not be responsible for the events of war, nor promise any further security to the congress. The deputation, on this, gave notice to the ministers of France, that the course of negotiations should be suspended; and they, in their turn, protesting against the violations of public right, declared that they should retire in three days to Strasburgh, where they would wait for the renewal of the negotiations, and receive whatever propositions of peace should be offered them.

Secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio.

At this period, the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio were made public, doubtless by the policy of the French directory; from which it appeared, that the emperor had formally consented to the cession of the left side of the Rhine to France, from Basle as far as the confluence of this river with the Nethe below Andernach, comprehending Mentz, and the head of the bridge at Manheim;—also to evacuate the fortresses of Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, &c.;—and to furnish nothing beyond his contingent in case of the continuance of hostilities with the empire. France agreed, in return, to a full equivalent to the emperor; and particularly to the cession of

Saltzburg, and the Bavarian provinces on the right side of the Inn. The German princes who were injured by the cessions in question, to be indemnified in such a manner as should be regulated by the common consent of the emperor and the French republic.

In consequence of the notice given by the French ministers at Rastadt (April 26), of their intended departure, the baron d'Albini, grand chancellor, wrote to colonel Barbaczy, the commander of the *cordon* of the Austrian advanced posts, demanding escorts for the deputies of the empire, and safe conduct for the French plenipotentiaries. Colonel Barbaczy, on the 28th, addressed a very extraordinary note to the French ministers, informing them, "that, as it did not accord with military plans to tolerate citizens of the French republic in countries occupied by the royal and imperial armies, they consequently should not take it ill that the circumstances of war forced him to signify to them to quit the territory of the army in the space of twenty-four hours." It is remarkable, that the plenipotentiaries would actually have quitted Rastadt on the preceding day, had not the deputies of the empire prevailed on them to wait the return of baron d'Albini's messenger. The demand was for a safe conduct; and when it was observed to the Hungarian officer who brought Barbaczy's

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letter, that it contained nothing relative to the object of the demand, he answered, that a doubt on that head would be injurious to the honor of an Austrian officer. At the same moment, four hundred hussars, of the regiment of Szeckler, entered Rastadt, took possession of the posts and gates of the town, with an order to suffer no person to enter or go out. The French ministers hastened their departure, and at eight in the evening they were in their carriages. On coming to the gates, they were surprised to find a passage refused them; and it was not without an express permission from the military commandant of the place, that they were at length suffered to pass. It was then two hours after sunset; and when they had advanced about five hundred paces from the gate, a troop of Szeckler's hussars, or of persons exactly resembling them, suddenly burst out from a wood that skirted the road, and surrounded the first carriage, in which was Jean Debry, with his wife and children. Thinking them to be some patrole, he exhibited his passport from the window, and mentioned his name and quality. "You *are* the minister Jean Debry!" was the reply; and immediately he was dragged out of his carriage, and fell, covered with blood, from repeated strokes of the sabre. The hussars proceeded to plunder the carriage; and, returning to

Horrid assassination of the French ministers, Bonnier and Roberjot.

see if he was actually dispatched, raised up his arm, which falling again, as perfectly destitute of sensation, they exclaimed "Oh, for him, he is dead enough!" In the second coach were the secretary and other domestics of the minister, who were suffered to pass, after the pillage of their property. In the third carriage was Bonnier alone. They asked if he was the minister Bonnier. On his answering in the affirmative, the hussar opened the door of the carriage, dragged him out, and he was instantly murdered with many mortal wounds. The secretary of the legation, Rosenstiel, who was in the fourth coach, seeing by the light of a flambeau what was passing, jumped out of the carriage, and fortunately made his escape. In the fifth coach was the minister Roberjot and his wife. They attempted to drag him out; but Madame Roberjot holding him fast clasped in her arms, they massacred him in this position; and, having thus executed their commission of pillage and slaughter, the hussars rode off. The carriages, immediately turning back to Rastadt, were freely readmitted within the walls. The secretary Rosenstiel, having wandered about for some time, gained a narrow path which led safely to Rastadt; and Jean Debry, with much difficulty making his way to a neighbouring wood, bound up his wounds in the best manner he was able, the coldness of the

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night contributing happily to stop the effusion of blood. He continued there till daylight, and then, venturing out, crept slowly and unobserved into the town.

Injurious imputations cast on the court of Vienna.

The indignation and horror excited by this atrocious and unexampled act of barbarity, pervaded every mind susceptible of the feelings of humanity. The Prussian legation wrote immediately a letter to colonel Barbazcy, expressed in terms which strongly marked their suspicions of that officer; and demanding an effectual escort and safeguard for what remained of the French legation. It appeared, indeed, incredible that this crime could have been committed without his knowledge. Had the ruffians who perpetrated these bloody deeds been prompted merely by the motives common to such wretches, would the ministers have been the only persons sacrificed by them? Would they have carried the effects and papers pillaged, as was openly affirmed to be the case, to the Austrian commandant at Rastadt? Would they, in a word, have practised that sort of discrimination which marks a premeditated design? It was imagined by many that Barbaczy was but the instrument of this abominable crime; in proof of which it was alledged, that, when the directorial minister of Mentz complained to that officer of the insults offered by the Austrian troops during the last days of the congress, Bar-

baczy did not venture to give any answer himself, but sent the letter to the commandant of Freudenstadt, who, in his turn, waited the orders of a superior.

Jean Debry, and the other survivors of the legation, left Rastadt the following day under an Austrian escort, accompanied by another, and much stronger, furnished by the margrave of Baden. Colonel Barbazcy was subsequently arrested, by order of the archduke Charles, with the professed view of undergoing a trial by court-martial; which however did not eventually take place. It was pretended (by those who wished to perplex what the vilest of mankind dared not to palliate,) in express contradiction, not only to the oral evidence of the parties, but to the solemn judicial depositions taken at Carlsruhe, that the murderers were not Austrians, but French emigrants in disguise. How far the court of Vienna was implicated, directly or indirectly, in this black and mysterious business, cannot easily be ascertained. Against the archduke, indeed, a prince of unblemished virtue, and of the highest honor, or even the emperor, *personally*, no suspicion could possibly attach; and supposing, contrary to all previous probability, any persons possessing the imperial confidence capable of so horrid a design, it still remains to point out what motives of sufficient magnitude, public

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or private, existed, to excite them to the commission of it. The circumstances, nevertheless, attending this catastrophe were such as called for the most anxious investigation, in order to remove all possibility of imputation from the Austrian government, which out to have been as free from suspicion as from guilt; but, most unfortunately, the coldness and apathy apparent in its whole conduct on this occasion was very ill calculated to efface the jealous and invidious surmises of those who yield a ready assent to all that is told of "the crimes of cabinets."

In the imperial aulic decree of the 6th of June, addressed to the diet at Ratisbon, the emperor does, indeed, as far as words can be allowed to have weight, vindicate his own honor, and that of his government, by declaring, that he was scarcely able to express the great shock his sentiments of justice and morality had received, and the whole force of the impression of abhorrence which has been excited in him, on the first account of this act of barbarity committed on the territory of the German empire upon persons whose inviolability was under the special guarantee of the right of nations."

Violent resentment displayed by the French government.

The French directory, as might be expected, hesitated not publicly and peremptorily, in a message to the two councils, to ascribe the murder of the plenipotentiaries to the command or

contrivance of the court of Vienna. But a charge of this nature, from such a quarter, can carry with it very little weight. The councils, in return, resolved "that this act should be denounced, in the name of the French nation, to all good men, and to the governments of every country, as committed by the cabinet of Vienna, and executed by its troops, on the 9th of Floreal, 7th year—with their reliance on the courage of the French to avenge it;—that a funeral *fête* should be celebrated in honor of the murdered deputies throughout the republic;—and that the government guilty of this assassination should be consigned to the vengeance of nations, and the execrations of posterity." Such was the tragical termination of a congress, which, at its opening, seemed as if it were destined to restore peace and happiness to Europe.

Civil dissensions in France.

This event for a moment averted the torrent of public indignation from the directory. The elections of the renewed third of the legislative body once more excited the passions of all parties; and the choice of new members, notwithstanding the threats and artifices of the directory, was by no means favorable to their wishes. Among the directors themselves, the lot of secession had fallen upon Rewbel, whose conduct in office had been such as to cover him with opprobium; insomuch, that, when this public despoiler subse-

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quently took his seat in the council of elders, the bench where he placed himself was instantly deserted by all the other members of the council.

Abbé Sieyes chosen member of the directory.

The person fixed upon as his successor was the famous abbé Sieyes, then ambassador at the court of Berlin. This choice, made in avowed opposition to the utmost exertions of the directory, portended some great and important change in the political system. The power of the directory received, from the impression of public opinion, an alarming shock; for the sentiments of Sieyes were well known to be in the highest degree inimical, not merely to the conduct and to the persons of his colleagues, but to the whole plan of the directorial constitution. They dreaded him, therefore, as an enemy whom it were hopeless to subdue, and impossible to soften. The repeated disgraces recently attending the arms of France had provoked the council of five hundred to exertions of which it was thought incapable. On the report of an extraordinary commission, a message was sent to the directory to demand detailed accounts respecting the administration of the ex-minister of war, Scherer, who had exacted pay for an army of four hundred and thirty-seven thousand men, to be found only on paper; and the deficiency of the cavalry, in particular, was stated at no less than forty thousand men.

The Austrian army, during these political con-

tentions, continued its career of conquest. The battles of Stockach and Magnan had entirely disconcerted the plans of the French, both in Germany and Italy. The retreat of Moreau upon the Milanese, however necessary, rendered the situation of the army of Naples very critical; for, Ferrara and Mantua being actually invested, and the posts of the Po abandoned, the communication with Tuscany and the south of Italy could not fail to be intercepted. Marshal Suwaroff, whose force at this time amounted to triple the number of the French, now in a manner invested the intrenched camp of Moreau, on the banks of the Adda, where that able general could not expect much longer to maintain his position. By fixing, however, the chief attention of his antagonist, he materially favored the march and consequent junction of the southern divisions. On the 26th and 27th of April a general attack took place on all the posts of the French upon the Adda. After a gallant resistance, the superiority of numbers prevailed, and the Austro-Russian army, led by marshal Suwaroff and general Melas, forced their bloody passage at Trezzo and Cassano. The French made their retreat through Milan during the night, and the allied armies entered that city the following day.

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Retreat of Moreau.

Battle of the Adda.

The capital of the Cisalpine republic was now once more in the power of the Austrians; and,

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had they used that power with moderation, the expulsion of the French would never have become a subject of regret. Instead of seeking in the Italian republics powerful and faithful allies, capable of contributing to the general support, and fighting under the common banner of liberty, the directory had been solicitous only to form feeble and dependent governments, all whose motions should be influenced by their supreme and sovereign will, exercised through the medium of their harpy commissaries, in a manner the most oppressive and capricious.

No sooner was the result of the battle on the Adda known at Milan, than the members of the Cisalpine directory provided for their personal safety by an immediate flight. But the majority of those citizens who had exercised the powers of government under the republic, submitted to the *clemency* of the conquerors; and eagerly indulging the delusive hopes of the moment, even Suwaroff was hailed as a protector and deliverer. The Russian commander, intent upon his military operations, seemed to regard Milan with no peculiar emotion, and, consigning over the delinquents, with equal indifference, to the mercy or the justice of the Austrian government, continued his pursuit of the French, extending his right into Upper Italy, with the view of securing the principal entrances into Switzerland.

General Suwaroff enters Milan.

The grand Austrian army, since the capture of Schaffhausen, had made no considerable movement. General Massena, including his recent reinforcements, now commanded an army of sixty thousand men. A combined attempt, by general Hotze, detached from the army of the archduke, on the one side, and general Bellegarde, from the Tyrol, on the other, early in the month of May, to penetrate into the country of the Grisons, was rendered abortive by the courage and activity of Lecourbe. The archduke remained, notwithstanding, firm to his plan, not to hazard offensive operations on the Rhine, till he had dislodged the French from the strong holds they possessed in his rear. The generals Hotze and Bellegarde concerted a new attack; and the redoubtable post of Luciensteig, the key of the Grisons, situated in a narrow defile, formed by high and rugged rocks, and which, since its occupation by the French, had been made almost impregnable, was again (May 14) assailed with desperate valor by Hotze, in conjunction with a numerous corps of armed Swiss and Grisons, collected by the ex-avoyer Steiguier; and, the pass being at length forced, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. After this success the French evacuated the Grisons and the Valteline, retreating hastily across the Rhine. General Bellegarde, who pursued them with dili-

Luciensteig captured by the Austrians.

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gence, took possession of Coire, May 16. The archduke and Massena now concentrated their forces, and operations still more important than the past excited the general expectation.

Having reached the centre of Lombardy, sooner even than the most flattering hope could have ventured to predict, marshal Suwaroff improved with vigor the advantages he had gained. He detached general Ott with a strong division to support general Klenau, who was engaged in the sieges of Bologna and Ferrara, and, by seizing the passes of the Apennines, to stop the progress of the army of Naples, now on its march towards Tuscany, under the command of general Macdonald. General Kray had been for some time past occupied in forming the siege of Mantua.

Subsequent to the retreat of general Moreau beyond the Adda, he advanced his army, in three columns, towards the Genoese territory; repairing in person to Turin, in order to provide for the eventual evacuation of that city, and the safety of the citadel: and on the 7th of May he transferred his head-quarters to Alessandria. Suwaroff, in the mean while had advanced to Pavia, and sent out strong detachments to take possession of Tortona, Novarra, and the castle of Milan; thus, by his various diverging movements, dangerously enfeebling his main force,

which general Moreau was utterly unable, had it been consolidated, to withstand. That skilful commander took an excellent military position between Valenza and Alessandria, behind the Po, fortifying himself, as he had before done, on the Adda, within a sort of intrenched camp. On the 12th of May a Russian division passed the river below Valenza, and made a furious attack on the left of the French; but were driven back with much slaughter. Suwaroff now resolved to march his main force along the left bank of the Po to Turin, in order to compel the French general either to fall back on the frontier of France itself, or to take refuge in the territory of the Ligurian republic. On the other hand, general Moreau throwing a bridge in the night over the Bormida, attacked and broke the chain of Austrian and Russian posts on that river. He deemed it expedient, nevertheless, in consequence of the loss of Casal, to evacuate Valenza and Alessandria; retreating by way of Coni, and still keeping open his communication with Finale, and the other posts on the Genoese coast.

Loss of Casal.

Further retreat of Moreau.

Marshal Suwaroff, thus disappointed by the superior generalship of Moreau in his design of surrounding the enemy in the camp of Alessandria, bent his march towards Turin, which quickly surrendered to the allies; the garrison retiring

Turin surrenders to general Suwaroff.

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to the citadel, May the 27th. Thus ten weeks scarcely had elapsed from the beginning of hostilities on the Adige, till the daring Russian had led his northern barbarians from the foot of the Rhetian Alps, across the beautiful and verdant plains of Lombardy, almost within sight of the purple vineyards of Provence.

But, though Suwaroff had made this surprising progress in front, he had yet behind him an army against which it was necessary to assemble no inconsiderable force. General Macdonald, on the news of the retreat from the Adige, had evacuated the kingdom of Naples. A camp was previously formed at Caserta, and a numerous national guard created at Naples. Fort St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, were severally provided and garrisoned for a siege; the government was organised; and the Neapolitan patriots seemed eager to defend themselves against all the efforts of the court of Palermo, entertaining no suspicion of the intended desertion of their allies. But they were thrown into a stupor of amazement when, on the 9th of May, general Macdonald departed from the camp at Caserta, in consequence of the positive orders which he had received; taking the route of Rome and Florence. The Roman republicans were scarcely less confounded. A feeble garrison was left in Rome, which had directions, in case of necessity, to re-

Army of Naples retreats to Tuscany.

tire to the castle of St. Angelo. General Miolis, who commanded in Tuscany, had formed a camp of observation between Florence and Bologna, with a view to guard the passes of the Apennines. Ferrara and Ravenna, with the castle of Milan, had before this time fallen into the hands of the Austrians, and Bologna was closely invested. That city made, however, a most obstinate defence, it being a matter of the highest importance to the French general to retain possession of it till he had secured his retreat through the Bolognese to Lombardy. Such was the situation of affairs, and such the respective positions of the contending armies, at the beginning of June. It is now proper to advert more particularly to the state of things in the city and kingdom of Naples.

Newly awakened to freedom, the hearts of the Neapolitans had, on the establishment of their republic, begun to dilate at the prospect of the progressive happiness which lay, or seemed to lie, before them. Deputations flowed in from all quarters to congratulate the republican government. The nobles, laying aside their Gothic prerogatives, felt pleasure in saluting by the name of brothers and equals those whom pride, supported by despotism, had hitherto called their vassals. The greater part of the bishops sent letters declaratory of their attachment to the

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revolution. For the first time in the Neapolitan provinces was seen the interesting spectacle of Liberty crowned by the hands of Religion. Almost every where the tree of liberty was planted by the intervention of the clergy, who, clothed in their sacred robes, implored the blessing of Heaven on their regenerated country, and consecrated the joyful celebration with pious and solemn rites. In a word, a great majority of the higher classes of the community, both laics and ecclesiastics, seemed strongly influenced by the revolutionary spirit. They had long discerned and detested the ignorance, the bigotry, and the oppression, of the vile despotism to which they were subject; and they seemed to embrace with enthusiastic eagerness the opportunity which now offered for ever to shake off so ignominious a yoke. But the inferior ranks of the Neapolitan nation were by no means prepared for so great a change. Their minds, unenlightened by knowledge, and degraded by the habits of slavery, did not expand at the idea of LIBERTY; a term, of which they could, indeed, scarcely be made to comprehend the import.

Cardinal Ruffo, at the head of the partisans of the court, had fixed himself at Reggio, in Calabria, bearing aloft the crucifix in the one hand, and brandishing the sword in the other. Eternal happiness in a future world, and the spoils of the

patriots in the present, were the temptations held out to the superstitious and barbarous Calabrese. Proclamations were every where diffused in the name and by the authority of the king, and desperadoes of all sorts crowded to the royal standard. The English naval force on the coast maintained a correspondence with the different bodies of insurgents in the interior, and excited the spirit of revolt wherever its sphere of influence extended. 1799.

The provisional government, without regular troops, or the means of raising a military force, surrounded by the tempests which arose on all sides, remained in reluctant inactivity. So long as they were under the protection of the French army, and no longer, was even the personal safety of the members of the new government to be depended on; and the departure of the French served as the signal for the counter-revolution. The most distinguished patriots of the provinces, flying from the poniard of assassination, took refuge in the metropolis, as the sole remaining asylum. Those districts which had hitherto remained faithful, now despairing of the cause of liberty, joined the murderous bands under cardinal Ruffo, in the hope, if not to prevent, at least to soften, the royal vengeance, which every man figured as about to be terrible in its effects; and the Neapolitan republic, just awakened into

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existence, already hung trembling over the abyss of dissolution.

The defence of the two gulphs of Naples and Puzzuoli, and the internal care of the capital, were confided to the Neapolitan patriots alone. They had at once to maintain order among the Lazaroni within, and to oppose the attacks of the insurgents from without. At length, on the 13th of June, the counter-revolutionists, with the cardinal, a true son of the church militant, at their head, formed before the gates; and, aided by the English, Russian, and Turkish, squadrons, completely blockaded the city. After one desperate sally, the patriots were compelled to shut themselves up in their strong holds. The fort first attacked was that of Avigliano, situated on the sea shore; which, little capable of resistance, soon capitulated upon terms: but the ferocious assailants, unobservant of the treaty, broke in, and began to plunder and to massacre; upon which the garrison, with generous despair, set fire to the magazine, and involved themselves and the enemy in one common ruin. The day following, the insurgents entered the city on every side. The Neapolitan populace, hitherto tranquil, on the first contact with this new fermentation, burst into a most furious insurrection. In an instant, Calabrians, galley-slaves, ruffians, and Lazaroni, spread themselves through every quar-

Naples surrenders to cardinal Ruffo.

ter, thirsting for blood and slaughter. Heads of patriots, bathed in gore, were carried on pikes in triumph through the streets. Those savage and horrible excesses which characterised the direst periods of the reign of terror and of revolutionary madness in France, were here re-acted, with fury if possible still more infernal, by these detestable restorers of regular government and social order! The prisons and dungeons were at the same time thronged with persons who formed the pride and ornament of the Neapolitan nation; and who now became the victims of the generous, but fatal, delusion, that their fellow-countrymen were prepared to throw off the yoke of a degrading despotism, and to receive, with gratitude proportioned to its value, the inestimable blessing of freedom.

The members of the Neapolitan government had taken possession of the two forts of the capital; viz. Castel Nuovo and Castel del Uovo: as also of the Castell-a-mare, six leagues from Naples. The latter immediately capitulated, on terms of safety to the lives, persons, and property, of the garrison, to the English squadron commanded by commodore Foote. The capture of the two former was attended with more difficulty. The patriots, who had at first taken the resolution of burying themselves under the ruins of their liberty, fought with incredible valor. Feel-

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ing, however, on receiving a second summons of surrender, that, deprived of all external succour, their eventual resistance would serve only to increase the misfortunes of their country, they at length decided on a treaty, in concert with citizen Mejan, commander of the fort of St. Elmo, garrisoned by the French; and a joint capitulation was accordingly signed, June 22, upon condition of their being allowed to march out with the honors of war; of security, both to persons and property, for all those in the two forts; and liberty to all, either to remain at Naples, or embark for France on board transports to be provided and equipped by his Neapolitan majesty. The catipulation thus solemnly agreed on was ratified by cardinal Ruffo, vicar-general of the king of the Two Sicilies, by commodore Foote, and by the respective commanders of the Russian and Turkish squadrons, the last of whom affixed his mark and seal, consisting of a cimeter and half-moon. Hostages were, agreeably to the tenor of the treaty, delivered on the one side; and on the other, the prisoners of all descriptions were set at liberty*.

* There are two copies extant of this capitulation, one in Italian, the other in French. The French copy is in Paris, and was confided to the inspection of the celebrated Helen Maria Williams, by the bishop of Canosa, monsignor Forges di Avanzati, who was a member of the legislative body of the

While the capitularies, to the number of about 1500, who had declared their intention of emigrating, were waiting for the vessels which were to convey them to France, lord Nelson arrived with his whole fleet in the bay of Naples, having on board the Anglo-Neapolitan ambassador, sir William Hamilton, and his lady. On the evening of the 26th of June the patriots evacuated their forts, and embarked on board the transports prepared for them, and which were moored alongside the English fleet. On the next day the members of the executive commission, a great part of those of the legislative commission, the whole of the officers who had occupied the first ranks of the republic, and others who had been marked by the court of Sicily were taken out of the transports, and carried on board the British admiral's own ship. Among these was the celebrated Dominico Cerilli, above thirty years the intimate friend of the English ambassador. On the deck of the admiral's ship stood sir William Hamilton and his lady, surveying, with curious attention, these devoted victims, bound hand and foot like the vilest criminals. After this review, these martyrs at the shrine of liberty were distri-

Horrible excesses of the Neapolitan court.

Neapolitan republic. Various of the most interesting particulars in the narrative are extracted from the publication of that elegant and animated writer, styled, "Sketches of Manners, &c. in the French Republic."

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buted among the different ships of the fleet. The remainder of the revolutionists were shut up in the dungeons of the castles which they had surrendered on the faith of the treaty.

A few days subsequent to these transactions, the king of Naples, accompanied by his minister Acton, arrived from Palermo on board an English frigate. He immediately declared, by an edict, that it never was his intention to capitulate with *rebels*, and that consequently the fate of those who were in the transports, or in the forts, was to depend entirely upon his justice and clemency. And by a second edict the property of the patriots was put under sequestration. Against this procedure remonstrances were in vain made by the commanders of the coalesced powers who had signed the articles of the capitulation.

Wearied by the cruelties they suffered, and emboldened by the sanctity of the treaties so recently concluded, the prisoners on board the ships in the bay at length addressed a letter to admiral Nelson, in which they stated, in clear and specific terms, the conditions to which they were entitled. "After the arrival," say they, "of the British fleet in this road, commanded by your excellency, the capitulation was begun to be put in execution. The garrisons of the forts, on their part, set at liberty the state prisoners and the English prisoners of war, and gave up to

the troops of his Britannic majesty the gate of the royal palace which leads to the new fort: and on the other side, the troops of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias attended the march of the garrison, with all the honours of war, out of the forts. It is now twenty-four days that we are lying in this road, unprovided with every thing necessary to existence. We have nothing but bread to eat; we drink nothing but putrid water, or wine mingled with sea-water; and we have nothing but the bare planks to sleep on. Our houses have been entirely pillaged, and the greater part of our relations either imprisoned or massacred. We are persuaded that all the treatment which we suffer, after having capitulated, and after having on our side put the articles of the capitulation religiously into execution, is entirely unknown to your excellency, and to his Sicilian majesty, your fidelity and his benevolence being engaged in our deliverance. The delay of the execution of the capitulation gives us room to claim and implore his and your justice, in order that a treaty concluded with four of the most civilised powers of Europe, who have always appreciated the inviolability of treaties, should be executed as speedily as possible. We hope that, by means of your good offices with his Sicilian majesty, due execution will be given to the articles of a capitulation which has been

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signed with good faith, and religiously fulfilled on the part of the garrison." The answer of lord Nelson to this moving address will be for ever memorable in history. "I have," said this renowned hero, "shown your paper to your *gracious* king, who must be the best and only judge of the merits and demerits of his subjects." What! was the king of Naples the only judge whether the articles of a treaty, to the strict observance of which the faith and honor of Britain were irrevocably engaged, should, or should not, be carried into execution? Could so monstrous a proposition be advanced with seriousness, or heard without scorn and amazement?

Proceedings of the court countenanced by the British naval commander.

After the surrender of the fort Castell-a-mare, commodore Foote had shown the most anxious solicitude that the conditions granted to the garrison should be punctually performed. "I entreat you," said this gallant officer to the commander of the fortress for the king of Naples, who had, as it appears, detained some effects belonging to the officers of the garrison, "to observe, that I am highly interested in seeing these gentlemen satisfied; since such is the condition of the capitulation: which is necessarily sacred." The whole body of Neapolitan revolutionists being thus consigned to remediless ruin, by the British admiral, in open, and almost avowed, violation of the faith of Britain, solemnly and pub-

licly pledged, a horrible scene commenced; of which the view, and even the relation, might suffice to rouse the most insensible to indignation, to melt the most obdurate to pity. BOOK XXXI. 1799.

All the dungeons of the forts being filled with prisoners, floating prisons were formed of old dismasted vessels. Around the British admiral's own ship, on board of which was the king of Naples, the sea was covered with those watery Bastiles, where the unhappy prisoners were so closely stowed that they seemed to form one great immoveable mass. Without shelter, and almost without food or clothing, they stood exposed to the burning rays of a meridian and solstitial sun, suffering, in silence, the brutal insults of the Calabrian ruffians who were placed over them as guards. The king himself, from the deck of the admiral's ship, not unfrequently satiated his royal vengeance with gazing on this dreadful display of human misery. But what still more, perhaps, affected the feelings of these unfortunate victims, was the extraordinary spectacle of the British ambassadress, gallantly attended, like another Cleopatra, and rowed along the bay, in nautical magnificence, before these floating tombs; which contained all that Naples could boast of science, of patriotism, and of virtue.

Nevertheless what has yet been related, was only the beginning of sorrows. Cardinal Ruffo,

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who was well known to be highly dissatisfied with these proceedings, though honoured with the title of viceroy, possessed no real or efficient authority; the whole power of government being vested in the famous counter-revolutionary tribunal or council established by royal edict, and commonly styled the junto of state: through the medium of which a most sanguinary proscription now commenced. Such as had rendered themselves conspicuous by accepting civil or military employments under the ill-fated republic, such as were distinguished by their intellectual talents or literary acquirements, were all marked out for punishment. As fast as these bloody lists were framed, the persons described in them were loaded with irons, and carried back to the forts, where they awaited the order of execution. Every afternoon the transports in turn underwent this terrible visitation, and the decree of arrestation was the virtual sentence of death.

What appeared most extraordinary during the continuance of this reign of terror, was, that British officers were made the instruments, however reluctant, of royal outrage and barbarity. "The soldiers of Great Britain," exclaimed a distinguished Neapolitan patriot, "the sons of the English nation, the first-born of liberty in Europe, the heirs of so many philosophers, who were the founders of public morality and of the rights of

nations; Englishmen, the acknowledged defenders of the principles of freedom throughout the world, found themselves humbled to the condition of becoming satellites of the cruelty of the king of Naples, and *gendarmes* of his tribunal of blood." Such were the sentiments excited by the habitual reverence impressed upon the mind of these Neapolitans for the character of the English nation. How British honor in this fatal business bled at every pore, remains yet further to be narrated.

Admiral Nelson, when he arrived in the bay, issued a proclamation, ordering all who had accepted employments, or in any manner *committed* themselves, during the republican government at Naples, to repair to Castel Nuovo, to give in their names and places of abode, with a statement of the nature of the obligations which they had contracted; promising protection and security to those who should make such confessions. The greater number of the delinquents hastened to comply with the terms of the proclamation; among whom were the marquis Giacinto Dragonetti, Nicola Gionatti, and Onofrio Calace; all of whom were magistrates of great distinction under the monarchy, and, from the probity of their characters, had been continued in their functions under the new organisation of the government. Notwithstanding, however, the

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assurances previously given, in a few days these venerable citizens were put under arrest, and brought to their trials. In the result, the two first were banished to Marseilles, and the third perished upon the scaffold.

Amid such crowds of victims as sealed their attachment to liberty with their blood, it is difficult to select the names of individuals. The destruction was terrible: and Naples lost, by the hands of the executioner, almost all that it boasted of men illustrious for knowledge and merit, and who had given distinction to their country among the states of Italy, or the nations of Christendom.

The celebrated prince Carracioli, general and chief of the Neapolitan marine, pleaded his own cause with all the dignified eloquence of an ancient Roman. He was executed on board a Neapolitan frigate, in sight of the English fleet. Mario Pogano, esteemed the genius of Neapolitan liberty; the learned Marcello Scoti, an ecclesiastic of the purest life and manners, and member of the legislative commission; Paschale Buffo and Joseph Luogoteta, both members of the provisional government, and distinguished patrons of literature; the marchesi Carlato and Gensano, young men of high hopes and lofty views, who had breathed early vows for the li-

berty of their country; the bishop of Vico Monsignor Natale; the generals Massa and Frederici; and, to add no more, the accomplished Eleonora Fonseca; were all fated to undergo the same cruel and ignominious death, as perpetual warnings to their successors in patriotism and philanthropy, if any such shall hereafter arise in Naples. How dangerous is the sublime attempt to inspire a people sunk and lost in the depths of ignorance, superstition, and despotism, with just and noble sentiments, or awaken them to a sense of their own natural, inherent, and indefeasible, rights!

Extirpation and banishment of the Neapolitan patriots.

Wearied at length with arrests, trials, and executions, the JUNTO decreed, that such persons *as had capitulated*, and who remained on board the transports, might sail for one of the ports of France, under condition of perpetual banishment, with the absolute confiscation of all their estates. The number of capitularies, originally about 1500, was now reduced to 500; and, deplorable as the alternative now offered them appears, this act of royal clemency was accepted with unutterable joy; and on the 12th of August they sailed from the bay of Naples, the objects of envy to thousands who walked the streets of that metropolis, under the salutary protection of that lawful and regular government by the recent ex-

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ertions of which, moral and social order had been so happily and effectually restored*.

* The horrid barbarities of the court of Naples excited the pity and indignation, not merely of those who were classed among the friends and advocates of liberty and reform, but of all other persons capable of the common feelings and sympathies of humanity. "NAPLES," says M. Mallet du Pan, "opened her gates to him (*i. e.* cardinal Ruffo) upon a capitulation, which the king afterwards refused to ratify; and the town was again plunged into mourning and terror, by the horrible excesses committed by the Calabrians against all whom they suspected of having aided the revolution. It has been attempted to cast a veil over the scenes of this period; and the only knowledge of them among foreign nations has been received from the accounts given by some Englishmen, who witnessed them with horror and indignation."—*British Mercury, Sept.* 30, 1799.

The more immediate friends and relatives of lord Nelson, since the death of that renowned hero, have made a most injudicious and impotent attempt to clear his memory from those imputations which weigh so heavily upon it, respecting these transactions. Captain Foote, whose character has been deeply implicated in this attempt, has therefore been constrained to publish a vindication, which every impartial person must allow to be in the highest degree satisfactory of his own conduct.

In a certain late publication styled "Genuine Memoirs of Lord Nelson," a private letter from that commander to lord Spencer, then at the head of the Admiralty, was inserted; in which lord Nelson styles the Convention, signed by captain Foote, "a most infamous treaty entered into with rebels.' "All those," says this gallant officer, "who were acquainted with the true state of the case, and who re-

It is now proper to resume the less horrific detail of military operations. The French columns, garded the character of lord Nelson, or the reputation of the country, saw the necessity of burying the whole transaction in oblivion, as far as that could be done. In this view, and in this view only, I relinquished the idea of demanding a court-martial."* As to the capitulations themselves, captain Foote affirms, " that they were not only expedient, but of real advantage to his Sicilian majesty, as they exhibited clemency to men who were deluded from their duty by a clamour for freedom, by the intrigues and by the power of the French."†

" It was my duty to consider that the getting possession of the castles of Uovo and Nuova, would very much expedite the reduction of Fort St. Elmo, which commands the town of Naples, and was wholly garrisoned by French troops; besides, from all the intelligence received, I had much more reason to expect the French than the British fleet in the Bay of Naples."‡ " Cardinal Ruffo maintained inflexibly, that the treaty ought to be kept sacred; and, nothing could prevail upon him to assent to the breach of an engagement, in which he himself had been a principal agent."§

" Lord Nelson," continues captain Foote, " says, he found a treaty entered into with the rebels, which, he is of opinion, ought not to be carried into execution. It was, however, capitulations actually signed in the name of his Sicilian majesty and his allies, by those officers who were undoubtedly authorized to enter into and sign such treaties; and which, once signed, must be executed, or an evident breach of faith incurred on the part of that nation whose power broke a solemn

* Foote's Vindication, p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 12, 13.

‡ Ibid. p. 25.

§ Ibid. 13, 14.

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in retreating from the Grisons, were closely pursued by the generals Bellegarde and Hotze. To-

engagement made by themselves, in which the lives and properties of men were concerned, and who might have chosen to sacrifice their existence, rather than have yielded at discretion to those from whom little mercy was to be expected. The very name of an English officer, acting for his country, was esteemed sufficient for the security of all that is dear to men. On this national character, Italians relied with confidence, before the unfortunate moment in which a *wretched infatuation* produced this breach of sacred engagements."—"My regard for the memory of a person so much, and so justly, valued, as that of lord Nelson, arrests the observations which it is natural to make on the whole of this transaction.—My only object is to clear my own character from stains which uninformed authors may hereafter be induced to fix upon my conduct, from the unguarded and hasty words of a person at that moment COMPLETELY INFATUATED. It is unreasonable to require me to sacrifice myself at the shrine of lord Nelson."*

On the 4th of June, captain Foote, writing to lord Nelson, gives the following excellent advice:—"With all submission to the better judgment of my superiors, I beg leave to recommend the offering a free pardon, because, when throwing the dice for kingdoms, personal animosities, jealousies, and every trifling object, should be disregarded." In reply, June 8, lord Nelson says, "I agree in *all* the sentiments you express in your letters, relative to the affairs of Naples."†

On the 15th of June, the Castel-a-Mare surrendered, on the same favourable terms which were afterwards granted to the

* Foote's Vindication, p. 15, 19.

† Ibid. p. 59, 62.

wards the end of May the archduke passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen, with a view to join the

Castles del Uovo and Nuovo; and the captain received, on the 18th, a complimentary letter from sir William Hamilton on his success. This was followed by another, and more important, dispatch from general Acton, first minister to his Sicilian majesty, presenting his congratulations for the success of the good and special services which he had so usefully rendered to his Sicilian majesty, and the good cause."*

On the 20th of June, the commander of the British squadron writes to lord Nelson that, from intelligence he has just received from the cardinal, it appears, that a capitulation is likely to take place with the castles Uovo and Nuovo, which he makes no doubt will be favourable to the rebels, as the regular force employed against them is so small, and the destination of the French fleet is yet unknown."†

On the 28th of June, six days after the capitulation was signed, captain Foote was entrusted by lord Nelson, with a secret and honourable mission to proceed to Palermo, in order to convey their Sicilian majesties to Naples; and the whole tenor of the subsequent correspondence shows that this commander continued to hold a high place in lord Nelson's esteem and confidence. In a letter, dated September 14th, from Palermo, his lordship says, "I can assure you, my dear sir, that it affords me infinite pleasure to convey to you this distinguished mark of his Sicilian majesty's approbation." This alludes to the present of a snuff-box set with diamonds from his Sicilian majesty to captain Foote, "for most important services performed by him when left with the command in the bay of Naples."‡

* Foote's Vindication, p. 73-4.

† Ibid. p. 79.

‡ Ibid. p. 94.

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corps of general Hotze; which, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the French commander, he successfully effected. General Bellegarde, in the mean time, seconded by divers of the hardy mountaineers of the lesser cantons, had taken possession of Glaris; and, appearing to menace Lucerne, the members of the Helvetic government withdrew from that city to Berne*. General Massena was now obliged to concentrate his forces in his en-

Can it possibly remain a question, after reading this statement of facts, whether lord Nelson, sir William Hamilton, the chevalier Acton, or any other person concerned in these transactions, harboured the remotest idea that captain Foote was a party in *an infamous treaty!* The horrors which ensued on the arrival of the court of Palermo at Naples ARE WRITTEN IN CHARACTERS OF BLOOD. Most unfortunately the case admits but of one alternative; and, if the conduct of those who signed the treaty was just and honorable, that of the persons who broke the treaty, and acted in gross and flagrant violation of it, can itself merit no other appellation than that of "INFAMOUS." And the best and only excuse which can be made for the great man who unhappily fell into this fatal error, is, that he was at that moment, to repeat the manly and forcible expression of captain Foote, COMPLETELY INFATUATED.

* It is a remarkable acknowledgment of M. Mallet du Pan, "that some hundreds of mountaineers in three democratic cantons, armed for the defence of their rocks, and some particular regiments in the pay of Great Britain, *and by no means levied freely*, were almost the only auxiliaries in the field that seconded the imperial army."

trenched camp before Zurich. After much skilful manœuvring, and the attack of various posts with various success, the archduke on the 5th of June bore down with his whole force upon the entrenchments, which the French defended with obstinate valor. The approach of night at length compelled the Austrians to retire. Orders were issued to re-commence the attack early the next morning: but Massena took advantage of the darkness to assume a new position on the heights of Mount Albis; and the archduke took triumphant possession of the city of Zurich.

Zurich surrenders to the archduke.

General Moreau, on the other side, after a hard conflict, found himself compelled, from the successes and superior force of Suwaroff, to relinquish his communication with Switzerland; his primary object being to cover the Ligurian republic, and to defend the barrier of the Apennines, so as to afford general Macdonald the means of effectuating his retreat. The ambition of Suwaroff to complete the conquest of Piedmont, by the capture of Turin, was very favorable to the views of Moreau, who, from his entrenched camp of Coni, detached a division under general Victor to cross the Genoese territory, and form a junction, if possible, with the army of Naples; while he himself engaged and almost engrossed the attention of the Russian commander, who, after the surrender of Turin, had caused a great

Operations in Lombardy, and in Tuscany.

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part of his army to march towards the Pays de Vaud and the department of Mont Blanc, vainly threatening to penetrate the ancient frontier of France. General Suwaroff proceeded in person against Moreau, who, leaving a strong garrison in Coni, withdrew, June the 7th, to the strong post of the Col de Tende. At this period the archduke, perceiving the schemes of Suwaroff difficult of accomplishment, directed general Bellegarde with the greater part of his division to join the army of Italy; which that officer successfully effected, marching by the route of Milan to Tortona.

On the arrival of general Macdonald at Florence, May the 24th, he hastened to form a junction with general Victor, and the troops stationed in Tuscany; the whole united force now composing an army of forty thousand effective men.

General Macdonald recovers Modena.

In the beginning of June he transferred his head-quarters to Lucca; apparently with a view to enter the Genoese by the route of Sarzana; but, finding his strength so great, on the 8th of that month he unexpectedly began his march towards Modena; and on the 12th made a fierce attack upon the Austrians, a large body of whom were encamped near that place under general Hohenzollern, who was forced, after a bloody engagement, to abandon Modena to the French, and retreat to Mirandola. Macdonald now prepared to march on to the relief of Man-

tua: but general Kray, ordering the bridges on the Po to be broken, posted himself with a great force on the opposite bank of the river to oppose the passage of the French. General Macdonald upon this, turning to the westward, entered Parma, June the 14th, and the day after Piacenza, the citadel of which he immediately invested. In the mean time general Moreau moved with his army to Genoa, where he formed a junction with the Ligurian division under general Perignan, with a view to resume offensive operations in concert with Macdonald.

General Moreau retires to Genoa.

Marshal Suwaroff, alarmed at the recent movements of the French armies, left general Kaim before the citadel of Turin, which was still resolutely defended, and marched with a large division of his force towards Tortona and Piacenza, where the Austrians had assembled in great strength under general Melas; and a junction between the two imperial commanders took place on the 17th of June, very critically, and in the midst of an attack on the part of the French upon the chain of posts on the Tidone. The next day measures were taken by the allied generals to compel the enemy to a decisive engagement. General Macdonald had ranged his army on the left side of the Trebia, with that river in his rear. After a furious conflict, as usual, and much effusion of blood, the French were

Battle of the Trebia.

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obliged to retire beyond the Trebia. On the ensuing morning, however, general Macdonald, who was supposed to have sustained a serious defeat, repassed the river, and attacked the allies in his turn with the utmost impetuosity. The whole space of country between the Trebia and the Tidone was strewed with the dying and the dead; and on all sides the carnage was terrible. In conclusion, Macdonald was a second time forced beyond the Trebia, after suffering great loss. The next day the French evacuated Piacenza; and, marching in two columns, the first, ascending the Val de Taro under general Victor, resumed its former position in the Lucchese territory, with a view to secure the passes of the Apennines on the side of Sarzana: and the other, commanded by Macdonald in person, took the route of Modena. When general Suwaroff was complimented upon his victory on the Trebia, he is said to have answered in the words of the monarch of Epirus, "Such another, and we are undone!"

General Macdonald takes refuge in the Genoese.

During these operations general Moreau had advanced as far as Tortona, and, suddenly attacking the Austrians under general Bellegarde, drove them precipitately beyond the Bormida. After maintaining his position for some time, and finding that the plan of co-operation, concerted between himself and Macdonald, was frustrated, he

retreated again about the end of June into the Ligurian territory. At this period intelligence was received of the surrender, on capitulation, of the citadel of Turin, which could no longer withstand the tremendous fire of 300 pieces of artillery mounted on the batteries against it. The allies now, therefore, at length found themselves masters of the whole country on this side the mountains; the strong fortress of Coni, and Genoa with its territory, alone excepted. Yet did not marshal Suwaroff escape the censure of military men, for suffering, in the face of that superior force of which he had the supreme command, the army of Naples to effect so extraordinary a retreat. Early in July, general Macdonald began his march to the Genoese through the narrow and difficult defiles of Sarzana. General Klenau entered Florence on the 8th of July, and on the 16th Leghorn capitulated; an acquisition the more valuable, because that city contained the train of artillery and camp equipage of Macdonald, who, with very diminished forces, at length accomplished a junction with general Moreau. On the 22d of July the strong fortress of Alessandria surrendered to the Russians, the garrison being made prisoners of war. On the 28th of the same month the still more important fortress of Mantua, garrisoned by ten thousand men, was disgracefully surrendered to the Austrians under general Kray,

Austrians take possession of Florence and of Leghorn.

Mantua surrenders to General Kray.

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by the commandant Latour Foissac, to the great indignation of the whole French nation; as it was known to be capable of a much longer and more vigorous resistance, and circumstances required that it should be defended to the last extremity. The generals Kray and Suwaroff, by the fall of Mantua, the investment of which had employed so great a force, regained the entire and perfect liberty of action.

No decisive or important engagement had taken place during this interval between the armies of the archduke and general Massena in Switzerland; on the eastern frontier of which country a second army of Russians arrived early in August, under the command of general Korsakof. Previous to their junction with the Austrians, general Massena made repeated attacks on the line of the Austrian posts, from Zurich to Mount St. Gothard, not without considerable success; general Lecourbe particularly distinguishing himself on this occasion, as on many others, by his spirit of enterprise and activity. At length, the archduke being strengthened by the junction of the first Russian columns at Schaffhausen, the temporary triumphs of the French received an effectual check: and the balance of war was still doubtfully suspended.

Arrival of a second army of Russians.

In Italy, confined and almost besieged within the narrow space of the Genoese territory, boun-

ded as well as defended by a continued range of mountains, the troops of the republic occupied the Bochetta and other principal passes. The chief command of the French army was now transferred, by the caprice of the directory, from general Moreau to general Joubert, an officer of great merit, who, in assuming the exercise of his functions, took occasion to express in the most public manner the very high sense which he entertained of the talents of his predecessor; whom he generously invited to defer for some time his departure, in order that he might concert with him his future plan of operations. Moreau no less generously acceded to this proposal, and consented to act as a volunteer under the orders of Joubert; a rare instance, on both sides, of that true greatness of mind which rises superior to all petty and personal jealousies.

General Joubert appointed successor to Moreau.

After reconnoitring the positions of the enemy, a resolution was taken by the two generals to march into the plains. In consequence of this determination, general Bellegarde's corps stationed at Trezzo was on the 15th of August vigorously attacked. At the same time general Joubert prepared to march in person along the right side of the Scrivia, while Moreau descended by the defiles of the Bochetta, in order to co-operate in raising the siege of the citadel of Tortona. General Suwaroff on his part, rightly conjecturing their

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design by the nature of these movements, resolved upon an immediate attack; which accordingly took place near the town of Novi very early in the morning of the 16th. The great and extensive plain of Piedmont is terminated at Novi by a very long ridge of hills, which rise so suddenly, and are so steep, that the ascent is extremely difficult, though the height is not very great. Upon these hills the French lay strongly entrenched. The action was scarcely begun on the left of the enemy by general Kray, when general Joubert, eager to animate by his presence the charge of infantry, advancing too indiscreetly forward, was struck with a ball which pierced his heart, and he expired almost without a sigh, in the act of inciting, by his exhortations and example, his men to deeds of heroism. The French had, indisputably, the advantage in point of situation, but were greatly out-numbered by the combined forces of the allies. The two armies were engaged along the whole extent of their line. The slaughter was terrible, and no impression could be made on either side. Three times Suwaroff charged the centre of the enemy in person, at the head of his hardy veterans, and three times he was repulsed by the invincible valor of the French. Moreau, who again took upon him the command on the death of Joubert, was here opposed to Suwaroff; and, assisted by the generals St. Cyr and

Battle of Novi.

Joubert killed.

Desolles, achieved acts worthy of admiration. Meanwhile general Melas with the left wing of the allies, reached the heights of Novi on the side of Pietalle, and, marching along the banks of the Scrivia, by unwearied efforts at length completely succeeded in turning the right flank of the French army. This manœuvre decided the victory. The danger of being surrounded compelled the French generals to abandon the field of battle to the allies; retreating, with the loss of the greater part of their artillery, by way of Ovada. The rear-guard of their army suffered much in the attempt to cover this retreat, and night at length saved them from destruction. This was, perhaps, the most bloody action which had been fought in the course of the present horrid and destructive war. The loss on both sides, in killed and wounded, was very moderately estimated at twenty thousand men. The French retired once more within the line of their posts; and Suwaroff, leaving the generals Melas and Klenau to watch the motions of Moreau, ordered the troops under his own immediate command to Asti, in order to cover the siege of Coni, and to prevent, if possible, the advance of general Championet, already on his march to succeed general Joubert, and who brought with him large reinforcements.

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The situation of Genoa became every day more critical. General Championet had indeed pene-

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trated the frontier of Piedmont, and seized the strong pass of Suza; but a junction with Moreau seemed still a matter of great difficulty. On the 11th of September the citadel of Tortona surrendered to general Suwaroff, who was now, by an unexpected destination of his services, and in consequence of a new arrangement of the imperial courts, compelled to bid a reluctant and everlasting adieu to Italy.

General Suwaroff departs from Italy.

The months of June and July passed away without any decisive advantage gained by either army in Switzerland. Massena, posted on Mount Albis, behind the Limmat, not only impeded the approach of the archduke beyond Zurich, but acquired, as already noticed, considerable advantages over the imperial army, previous to the arrival of the second Russian army under general Korsakof. In the interval the French had assembled a numerous body of forces on the Rhine under general Muller, who established his head quarters at Manheim, August the 25th; and, after taking possession of Heidelberg and Frankfort, he, in the beginning of September, invested the city of Philipsburg. The archduke, alarmed at his progress, now resigned the command of the army in Switzerland to general Hotze, and crossed the Rhine with a very considerable force, destined for the relief of Philipsburg; and, on the subsequent junction of this corps with the army

Invasion of the Palatinate.

of the empire, that martial and active prince found himself at the head of sixty thousand men. General Muller, unable to resist so great a superiority, on the approach of the archduke raised the siege of Philipsburg, after an ineffectual bombardment of five days and nights, in which space of time the town was nearly laid in ashes. The French retreated by the bridge of Manheim; and, to guard the works of that important pass, they left a corps of about six thousand men under general La Roche. But the Austrians boldly attacked and carried the place by assault, the whole of the garrison being either cut to pieces or surrendering prisoners. The archduke was now master of both sides of the Maine, and pontoons were prepared for the purpose of passing the Rhine; while general Muller retired northward, with the view of covering the city of Mentz.

Repelled by the archduke.

The plan which now appeared to be projected by the two imperial courts, consisted in forming in Switzerland, as the centre, a great Austro-Russian army under the orders of Suwaroff; on the left in Italy, an Austrian and Italian army, commanded by the generals Kray and Melas; on the right a third or imperial army under the archduke, who had with great success so far executed the part allotted to him. The first column of Russians, under general Rosenburg, began their march September 8, by Novarra, in order to pass

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the St. Gothard by Bellinzona. Upon the rear-guard of this column Moreau made a fierce attack, but was ultimately repulsed, and resumed immediately his former positions. Suwaroff himself, after taking a public and melancholy farewel of the Austrian troops, his companions in danger and in victory, followed at the head of the second column*.

The grand object of the Austrian generals Kray and Melas, on the departure of Suwaroff, was to prevent the purposed junction of Moreau and Championet before Coni. The army of the latter, being now so far advanced as to be almost insulated, was on the 18th of September attacked by the Austrian commanders near Fossano; ge-

* In a small tract written by count Dietrichstein Proskau, major-general in the Austrian service, and publicly circulated on the continent, that officer, in animadverting on the departure of the Russians from Italy after their glorious successes, asserts that "the court of Vienna assented to it upon the desire which the court of London had manifested to that of St. Petersburg, of seeing the Russian auxillary troops of Italy, joined to the Russian army paid and maintained by England." "I acknowledge," says this intelligent officer, "that, in a military as well as political point of view, my weak discernment has never allowed me to perceive the advantage of replacing in the middle of a campaign, as one would relieve a sentinel, an Austrian army in Switzerland by a Russian one. I know that my court has no more conceived this than myself. It only consented to it through complaisance to its allies, and against its own opinion."

neral Bellegarde at the same time breaking through the chain of posts above Turin. This combined operation was attended with such success, that the major part of the French were obliged to retreat with considerable loss to Suza. General Championet himself, nevertheless, repaired in person to Genoa, to receive from the hands of Moreau the command of the army of Italy.

General Championet assumes the command in the room of Moreau.

Marshal Suwaroff had by this time made his dispositions to attack the passes of Mount St. Gothard; and, ascending the valley of the Levantine, in concert with the Austrian generals Auffenburg and Laudohn, to drive back Lecourbe, and, pressing forward upon Lucerne and Berne, to compel Massena to quit his position and pass the Aar, in order to secure his rear. General Lecourbe, encompassed on all sides, now found the necessity of hastily relinquishing those important posts which he had so long maintained, and the Russians extended themselves along the lake of Zurich. The army of Massena, occupying a chain of posts between the St. Gothard and Baden, was decidedly superior to the enemy, previous to the arrival of Suwaroff: and he resolved to avail himself of that superiority while it existed. On the 24th of September, therefore, this able commander issued orders for the French army to pass the Limmat, in order to storm the heights on the west of Zurich. General Hotze,

First success of Suwaroff in Switzerland.

Battle of Zurich.

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Death of General Hotze.

on the first alarm, mounted his horse in order to reconnoitre the enemy; when his small party was suddenly surrounded, and that gallant officer, who possessed the most distinguished merit and talents, and was the object of universal esteem, enjoying also the entire confidence and affection of the soldiery, was slain in the very prime of life, almost within sight of the walls of Zurich; of which city he was himself a native. The Austrians, thrown into confusion by the loss of their commander, fell back precipitately towards St. Gall; by this means entirely separating themselves from the centre of the army. The attack against Zurich was completely successful. The Russians were driven from the heights with dreadful carnage, and the town was carried sword in hand. General Korsakoff, with the loss of his baggage and artillery, retreated to Schaffhausen. The French pursuing their advantages in both directions, the allies were compelled to pass the Rhine, and to place the lake of Constance between them and the enemy.

Triumphs of General Massena.

Marshal Suwaroff, inflamed and enraged at the unexpected intelligence of this great and total defeat, wrote to general Korsakoff, "You shall answer with your head if you make another retrograde step: I am coming to repair your errors." The commander-in-chief had now penetrated, with extreme difficulty and incessant fighting, as

far as Schwitz; and on the 4th of October he carried by assault the post of Brunnen, with the bridge over the Muten, after a desperate resistance on the part of Lecourbe. This was the last of his triumphs. Had he dared to push forward through the valley of Glaris, he would have found Massena at the head of a superior army, flushed with recent conquest; and he must have incurred the imminent hazard of being surrounded. He therefore indignantly quitted the cantons of Schwitz and Glaris; retreating with the Austrian divisions under Auffenberg and Jellachich, by the Flemstahl, into the valley of the Grisons. This retreat was not effected without immense labor and equal loss; the French pursuing close behind, harassing, and by reiterated attacks almost destroying, the rear-guard, and taking great part of the heavy artillery and baggage, which Suwaroff, who exposed his person to every danger, had no means to carry off.

Suwaroff retreats into the Grisons.

The generals Korsakoff and Petrasch had by this time ventured to repass the Rhine; but general Massena, passing from the right to the left of the French army, put himself at the head of the divisions before Zurich, and, charging the advanced columns of the allies, October the 7th, between the Thur and the Rhine, compelled them once more to seek for safety on the opposite bank

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of the river. Seizing in this retreat the bridge of Constance, the French pressed vigorously upon the rear of the flying army, doing great execution upon the Bavarian division and the corps of emigrants commanded by the prince of Condé, which had attached itself to this army. The Austrian general Bauër, nevertheless, recovered the bridge, and the French were checked in the midst of the pursuit; but after reiterated efforts the city of Constance, said to be three times lost and won, remained in possession of the republicans.

Battle of Constance.

For the space of fifteen days, no intermission or scarcely remission of hostilities had taken place; in which dreadful interval it was computed that not less than thirty thousand men on both sides had fallen victims to the devouring rage of the sword, which still thirsted for human blood.

Return of the archduke to Switzerland.

As soon as the archduke received intelligence of the death of Hotze, and the subsequent reverse of fortune in Switzerland, he relinquished his project of crossing the Rhine, and set out immediately on his march with the greater part of his troops to the southward; leaving only a sufficient force to cover Manheim and Philipsburg. At Donaueschingen, October 4, he held a grand council of war; a few days after which, the Austrian army re-entered Switzerland. Subsequent to his departure, general Muller, again passing the Rhine,

recovered Frankfort, and dispersed the levies of armed peasantry, which by the late movements were left nearly destitute of military support.

The Russians were now rapidly retiring from the field of action. General Korsakoff, with the chief part of his troops, filed off by the lake of Constance; and, on the other side, marshal Suwaroff, who had for a time established his head quarters at Coire, marched to Feldkirch, uniting the cordon on the right side of the lake, and joining at Lindau the different divisions of his army; more than one third of which had been unavailingly sacrificed, by the caprice of a barbarous despot, in a distant clime and foreign quarrel, far from their friends, their families, and native home. After efforts so prodigious, the armies on both sides, being almost equally exhausted, were forced to a sort of suspension of hostilities, and waited in silent and motionless expectation the arrival of further reinforcements, in order to renew these horrid scenes of carnage, death, and desolation.

Declaration of the emperor Paul.

In the midst of the rejoicings of the court of Petersburg, at the news of the first successes of Suwaroff, the emperor Paul, indignant that the Germanic states were not universally actuated by the same furious zeal with himself, in support of the same cause, issued an official notification, dated from Petersburg, September 15, and addressed to all the members of the Germanic empire, in

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which he represented, "that, having been constantly animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and desirous of putting an end to the devastations and disorders carried into the most distant countries by the impious government under which France groaned in silence, he had taken the firm resolution of sending his forces by sea and land to succour the oppressed; to re-establish, without suffering the least division, the monarchy of France; the ancient governments of the United Provinces and the Helvetic cantons; to preserve the integrity of the Germanic empire; and find his recompense in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe. Providence had blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops had triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order: and he invites all the members of the German empire to unite their forces with his and rally round him; in which case he will not sheath his sword till he has seen the downfal of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities." But scarcely could this boastful declaration be received by those to whom it was addressed, before the victories of which it spoke were changed to mournful reverses and disastrous defeats.

At the beginning of the month of November, the opposite armies found themselves nearly in the same positions which they had occupied six

months before. The archduke fixed his head quarters at Schaffhausen, and general Massena resumed his former situation at Basle. Suwaroff, who had assembled his army in the vicinity of Lindau, now fell back to Memmingen. Coire, and the other posts held by him in the Grisons, were evacuated. But the Austrian general Linken, successor to Hotze, still occupied the Voralberg, and by means of the post of Mayenfield kept up his communication with Feldkirch.

Suwaroff evacuates the Grisons.

No sooner was the retreat of the Russians decided, than the archduke, resolving to rest on the defensive in Switzerland, detached all the troops which could be collected in Carinthia and the Tyrol, to reinforce the generals Melas and Kray. Melas had already formed the investment of the important and hitherto impregnable fortress of Coni, while Kray commanded the covering army, and Klenau was still engaged in the distant blockade of Genoa. General Championet, determining at length to make one great effort for the relief of Coni, meditated the project of cutting off the right wing of the Austrians on the side of Genola; for which purpose he previously made a succession of false attacks on the left. But general Melas, penetrating his design, had strengthened the posts in danger; when on the 14th of November the two armies made their respective dispositions for a general engagement. Both French and Austrians

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fought on this occasion, as on so many others, with heroic bravery. The charges on both sides were furious, and firmly sustained. Neither could gain, nor would either yield the advantage. At length the column of Grenier, overborne by superior numbers, combined with equal valor, was broken by the efforts of general Ott; and the whole French army, falling consequently into irretrievable confusion, were forced back on Valdizzio. And, being again attacked in the afternoon of the same day by general Melas, in his new position, general Championet retired with great additional loss to Contala, which he abandoned in the night, leaving Coni to its own defence, after sacrificing eight thousand men in this bold but unavailing attempt.

On the other side, general Kray had given a severe check to the French under general St. Cyr, on his march to join general Championet, compelling him to retreat beyond the mountains of Novi. Intelligence was at the same time received of the surrender of the important maritime town of Ancona, which had been for some months blocked up by a squadron of the Russian and Turkish ships by sea, and a body of Austrians under general Frolich by land; joined by a numerous corps of insurgents. The commander, general Monnier, capitulated to general Frolich,

Surrender of Ancona.

who took possession of the place in the name of the emperor of Germany only: a procedure which gave great offence, when reported to the court of St. Petersburg.

The trenches were now opened in form before Coni, and nineteen batteries, mounted with two hundred pieces of heavy artillery, kept up a tremendous fire on that fortress. A bomb accidentally falling on a powder magazine, set it on fire, and blew up a redoubt. The flames continued to spread, and the incessant explosion of bombs and shells left no hope of extinguishing them. The French commandant despairing of assistance, and finding no advantage in prolonging a defence which must necessarily terminate in the destruction of the place, determined to submit, and in the evening of the 2d of January (1800) a capitulation was signed, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. Thus Coni, justly reputed the key of Piedmont, fell into the possession of the Austrians, and the Ligurian territory was all that now remained of the French conquests in Italy.

Surrender of Coni.

The history of the naval naturally succeeds to that of the military transactions of this ever-memorable year. At the termination of the last campaign the fleets of Britain rode everywhere triumphant; at the commencement of the present, the ports of France, Spain, and Holland,

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were completely blockaded, and the harbour of Brest in particular was vigilantly watched by lord Bridport, who commanded a powerful squadron in the channel. Preparations, however, had been long making by the French, with a view to some maritime expedition: and a sudden gale of wind compelling the English admiral to quit his station before Brest for a single day, the French commander, Brueys, took immediate advantage of his absence, by standing out to sea with a fleet, consisting, as it subsequently appeared, of no less than twenty-five ships of the line, four of them carrying more than one hundred guns each, accompanied by eight frigates, besides smaller vessels. The next day lord Bridport, whose force was far inferior, resumed his station; but, hearing that the French fleet had sailed, and not being able, in the thick fog which happened at that time to envelop both squadrons, to learn what direction they had taken, he deemed it expedient to make sail for Ireland, as the part most obvious to attack, and most important to defend. But the object of the French was to form a junction with the Spanish fleet at Carthagena, which was skilfully and successfully effected. As soon as the destination of admiral Brueys was ascertained, great reinforcements were sent with all imaginable expedition to lord St. Vincent in the Mediterranean; and the fleet commanded by lord

Junction of the French and Spanish fleets.

Bridport being also considerably strengthened, the two British admirals could muster together a prodigious force of sixty sail of the line, to which the French and Spaniards could not, with any chance of success, oppose their united squadrons. But the same fortune which had from the first governed this dangerous attempt, brought them in safety from Carthagena to the road of Cadiz: and, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the English commanders, and to the great disappointment of the nation, they ultimately re-entered (July 21) the harbour of Brest, to the number of forty-seven sail of the line; without sustaining the slightest injury, or even coming within sight of an English ship.

The counter-revolution at Naples was followed, after a very short interval, by the fall of the newly established Roman republic. It is necessary to premise, that the infirm and aged pontiff had, on the first success of the allied arms in Italy, been removed, by order of the Gallic directory, from Florence, across the Apennines and Alps, to Briançon, whence, on the alarm caused by the approach of Suwaroff to the frontier of France, he was again transferred to Valence. Here he occupied the beautiful suite of apartments belonging to the ancient commandant of that fortress under the monarchy. Again he seemed to enjoy something of repose; the fine gardens, and de-

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lightful scenery of the surrounding country, affording him much apparent pleasure. He divided his time chiefly between his books and his devotions, with occasional exercise; but he slept little, and his health visibly declined. It being declared to him, that it was in contemplation of the directory to remove him to Dijon, he exclaimed with emotion, "Why will they not let me die in peace?" The truth, perhaps unknown to the pontiff, was, that Valence was deemed too near to Avignon, at that period in a state of insurrection. From this time, the agitation of his mind preyed rapidly on his frail and feeble frame.

Death of Pius VI.

He was soon after seized with a partial paralysis; and, his end visibly approaching, it was deemed needless to incur the odium of disturbing his dying moments. Religion, of which he had been accused of loving too much the exterior pomp, became now the sole consolation of his sorrows. He expired tranquilly and serenely on the 29th of August (1799), in the 82d year of his age, and 24th of his pontificate. His remains were embalmed, and deposited in a leaden coffin, with all external marks of respect, in the presence of the municipality of Valence.

A month had scarcely elapsed from the death of Pius VI., ere his late seat of government was rescued from the dominion of his oppressors.

Investment of Rome.

The fortune of the campaign had produced the

same effects in the Roman republic as in other parts of Italy. Macdonald, in his retreat from Naples, had left at Rome about 3500 French, including all descriptions, civil and military. The defeat of the republican army on the Trebia was the signal of insurrection in the Roman state, as well as at Naples. On the approach of the insurgents at the beginning of August, every part of the government appeared in a state of disorganisation. The treasury was empty of money, the magazines of arms: and the city was totally unprepared for an event so unlooked for as a siege. In the present state of things it was deemed necessary to suspend the consulate, and to proclaim military law. The numbers of the insurgents, aided by reinforcements from Naples and Tuscany, continually increased. General Garnier, the commandant, made two successive sallies, but was driven back with loss. He determined, nevertheless, to defend the city to the last extremity.

The post of Frescati being that from which the inhabitants were most annoyed, the Roman national guard, headed by the princes Santa Croce and Borghese, joining themselves to the French, a third attack was resolved upon (August 20), which was attended with great success, the intrenchments at that place being forced; and twenty pieces of cannon, with other trophies

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of war, testified the triumph of the victors. This, however, was of no essential service. The post of Frescati was soon re-occupied; different divisions of Austrian and Russian troops approached the city, and an English squadron blocked up the port of Civita Vecchia, and summoned Rome to surrender. A council of war being held, it was determined to enter into a negotiation with the English, who proposed the same capitulation as had taken place at Gaeta. The British squadron was under the direction of commodore Trowbridge; an officer of the highest reputation. In consequence of the positive instructions he received from Naples, the British commander was obliged to make a formal demand of the French governor, to deliver up the Neapolitan patriots who had fled for refuge to Rome. General Garnier nobly answered, "that he would never consent to an action so unworthy; but that the French would rather sacrifice their own lives with those of their friends."

The first name on the fatal list happened to be that of the princess de Belmonte; and, when the determination of the French commandant was made known to the commodore, he is said to have signified very intelligibly his high approbation of it. He knew what had passed at Naples. He felt how, paramount to all orders

or instructions, was the honor and dignity of a British soldier. "I never will become the executioner of the vengeance of the queen of Naples!" was the indignant declaration of this gallant officer. This being perfectly understood, a capitulation was signed 6th Vindemiaire, (Sept. 27); conformably to the articles of which, ROME and its dependencies, for the first time since the foundation of that famous capital of the world, surrendered to the arms of BRITAIN:—an event than which, had the awful book of destiny been laid open to the view of the Julian or Augustan age, nothing more calculated to excite amazement could have occurred in all its records.

Rome surrenders to the arms of Great Britain.

The twelfth and other concurrent articles of the treaty of capitulation imported, that "such citizens of Rome as shall now form, or have heretofore formed, a part of the constituted authorities of the Roman republic; and *those also* who shall have served the republican cause by their patriotic works, or taken up arms for that purpose, shall be at liberty to depart with their property at the same time with the French troops, and on the same terms as they do." And by other articles it was agreed, "that transports should be provided by the English commander, and victualled, for the conveyance of the above de-

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scriptions of persons to Villa Franca, Antibes, or Toulon; and that such Romans as choose to remain, shall suffer no molestation." The last article even expressly stipulates, "in case of any difficulty arising with respect to the interpretation of the articles of this convention, that such articles shall be explained in favor of the French and their allies."

During the transient existence of the Neapolitan republic, the duke of Cansano had been sent as ambassador to Rome, and many other Neapolitans of high rank were also resident in that city at the period of its investment. Even previous to its surrender, the English commander took an anxious interest in the fate of these unfortunate exiles. He precipitated their departure from the port of Civita Vecchia; and, on their being unavoidably forced back to that place, commodore Trowbridge, inflexible in his humanity, again enabled the vessel to put to sea, and the proscribed fugitives were at length happily landed at Toulon. In return, they paid him—and it was all they could pay—those grateful tears of admiration which are shed over noble deeds. Thus the honor of the British name was vindicated; and the world, as in other and better times, saw that it did not without reason aspire to a rivalship with that of ancient Rome.

Generosity of the British commander.

Civita Vecchia, Corneto, Tolsa, and the other maritime places in the Roman state, were put into possession of the English immediately on signing the articles of the capitulation: and in forty-eight hours afterwards, general Boucard, with a regular Neapolitan force, was admitted into the city of Rome, and occupied the castle of St. Angelo; the French garrison marching out at the same time with all the honors of war. No sooner was the Neapolitan flag hoisted, than the trees of liberty were cut down and burnt, and the arms of the republic destroyed. Seals were affixed to the apartments of the Quirinal and Vatican palaces, and the offices of the republic; and some excesses were committed by the mob, who carried about, in derision, the bust of Brutus, so lately the object of veneration. But all the articles of the convention, concluded under the sanction of the British commander, were strictly and religiously executed.

BOOK XXXII.

EXPEDITION to Holland. Surrender of the Dutch naval Force. Successive Victories of the Duke of York. Convention of the Helder. State of St. Domingo. Capture of Surinam. Situation of France. Changes in the Directory. Law of Hostages passed. Jacobin Meetings suppressed. Fatal Consequences of the Law of Hostages. Transactions in Egypt. Capture of El Arisch. General Bonaparte enters Palestine. Capture of Gaza—and of Jaffa. French Army encamps on Mount Carmel. Siege of Acre. Train of battering Artillery intercepted by Sir Sidney Smith. Heroic Defence of Acre. Turkish Army assembles at Damascus. Complete Victory of Bonaparte over the Turks. Unsuccessful Assault of Acre. Siege of Acre raised. Return of Bonaparte to Grand Cairo. Victory over the Turks at Aboukir. Bonaparte departs for France. His Arrival at Paris. Engages with Sieyes in the Design of subverting the existing Government. Dissolution of the Directorial Constitution. Establishment of the Consular Government. Consular Constitution delineated. General Bonaparte declared First Consul. Renewal of the Negotiation with America. Death of General Washington. Embarrassments of the Senate of Hamburg. Haughty Conduct of the Emperor Paul—His Manifesto against Spain. He assumes the Title of Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Prince of Brasil declares himself Regent of Portugal. Transactions in India. Tippoo Sultaun's Intrigues with the French at Mauritius. Earl of Mornington appointed Governor-General of India. Tippoo Sultaun's secret Negotia-

tions with the King of Candahar—and with the French Directory—also at the Courts of Poonah and Hyderabad. His deceitful Professions of Friendship to the English Government. Discreet Conduct of Lord Mornington. The Company's Forces assemble at Vellore. The Governor-General's energetic Remonstrance to Tippoo Sultaun. Systematic Dissimulation of the Sultaun. Attempts to excite the Ottoman Porte against the English. The Governor-General declares War against the Sultaun of Mysore. Successes of the English Army. Investment of Seringapatam. The Sultaun sues in vain for Peace—His Rage and Despair. Seringapatam taken by Storm. Heroic Death of the Sultaun. Partition of his Dominions. Ancient royal House of Mysore restored. Death of Kien Long, Emperor of China.

BOOK XXXII.

1799.

Expedition to Holland.

IN the grand plan of military operations, concerted between the confederate courts, for the present year, it was determined that Great Britain should attempt a powerful diversion of the French arms, by the actual invasion of Holland, aided by a body of about twenty thousand auxiliaries, to be furnished by Russia, exclusive of the force employed by the emperor Paul in Italy and Switzerland. Though apparently of the utmost consequence that this expedition should be undertaken at an early period of the campaign, it was not till the month of June (1799) that preparations began to be made at Yarmouth and Southampton. Instead of aiming at, or even pretending, secresy, it was publicly known, and indeed ostentatiously announced, that Holland was the object in view;

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and the duke of York, whose military talents had been the subject of severe animadversion during the late continental campaigns, was appointed commander-in-chief on the present occasion.

The first division, under general sir Ralph Abercrombie, an officer of great reputation and experience, sailed from the Downs early in August; and the second division, commanded by the duke of York in person, lay at Margate, and other adjacent places, in order to follow as soon as intelligence was received of the safe arrival of the former. These two divisions were composed of 30 battalions of infantry, besides cavalry and artillery, making, in conjunction with the Russians, an army of forty-five or fifty thousand men. The Dutch government had not been inert in preparing the means of defence and resistance. Their naval force, consisting of nine ships of the line and a great number of frigates, under the command of admiral Story, who had saved himself by an early flight from the battle off Camperdown, lay at anchor in the inner channel of the Texel. Their military did not exceed twenty thousand men; to which must be added about fifteen thousand French veterans under general Brune, the exigencies of the times not allowing the directory to maintain a larger force in these provinces.

The winds were adverse till near the end of August; when the English fleet, commanded by

lord Duncan, anchored near the mouth of the Texel. On the morning of the 27th, general Abercrombie landed his whole force, under its protection, near the Helder point. Scarcely were the English troops formed, when the Dutch under general Daendals charged them with great spirit, and a sharp engagement ensued, in which the English, by the official account, lost near five hundred men. Late, however, in the evening, the garrison of the fort, consisting of about two thousand national troops, was withdrawn, and the English took possession of the works next morning. This was but a prelude to the great success which followed. On the 30th of August, the passage being now entirely opened to the Texel, vice-admiral Mitchell summoned the whole Dutch navy, lying near the Vlieter, to surrender to the prince of Orange; allowing them "one hour to submit, or take the consequences." In less than that time an answer was returned, that they submitted according to the summons. "The traitors," says admiral Story, whom I commanded, refused to fight; and nothing remains to me, and my brave officers, but vain rage and the dreadful reflexion of our present situation. I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I commanded, and declare myself, and my officers, prisoners of war."

Surrender of the Dutch naval force.

General Abercrombie, now waiting for re-in-

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forcements, entrenched himself on the peninsula of the Helder, and general Brune directed his march, at the head of his collected force, by Haerleem to Alkmaer, where he arrived September 2. But, what was infinitely more discouraging, the spirit of determined resistance everywhere displayed itself. In every village the citizens took arms; the requisitions of the government were answered, not by a cool and formal compliance, but with an emulation of eagerness; and multitudes offered themselves on all sides, as volunteers, to join the army in North Holland. On the 10th of September, at day-break, a fierce attack was made by the united army of French and Batavians on the English intrenchments: but they were everywhere repulsed; "owing," says the English commander in his official dispatches, "to the strength of our position, and the determined courage of the troops." About ten o'clock the enemy retired to Alkmaer; and this advantage was, by credulous presumption, regarded as a second decided victory over the Dutch.

On the very day this engagement took place, the duke of York sailed from Yarmouth with the second division of troops, and was soon followed by the greater part of the Russian armament under the command of generals Herman and Essen. During these operations, the hereditary prince of Orange had made a feeble

attack on the frontier of the province of Overyssel, summoning the fortress of Coverden, and dispersing his proclamations and manifestoes. But not the least discernible effect was produced, nor the slightest movement excited. At length, on the approach of the national guards of Arnheim and Oldenrad, the little army of the prince hastily separated; and, on receiving intelligence of the capture of the Dutch fleet, he himself embarked at Embden, to join the army of the duke of York.

On the 19th of September, nearly all the forces destined for this expedition having arrived, it was determined to commence offensive operations; and two hours before day a general attack on the lines of general Brune, before Alkmaer, was made in four columns, with a view to flank both wings of the enemy. General Abercrombie was previously detached to occupy the post of Hoorn, in order to take the Dutch, who constituted the right wing, in the rear; and general Herman made an impetuous assault on the front and left of the line. The French gave way: but the Russian column, advancing too far, found itself in extreme danger of being surrounded; and the village of Bergen, which was for some time occupied by the Russians, was recovered by general Vandamme at the point of the bayonet. Not receiving the support they expected from the

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commander-in-chief, they were in the end, and after fighting with the greatest obstinacy, destroyed rather than defeated; general Herman himself being made prisoner, and Essen dangerously wounded.

The right wing of the Batavian army, commanded by general Daendals, was opposed to the English, and, having stood firm till past midday, was at length compelled to a retreat; but, rallying towards the close of the engagement, general Daendals recovered several of the batteries which he had lost. The total discomfiture of the Russians obliged the duke of York to withdraw his left; and, general Abercrombie also evacuating the post of Hoorn during the night, the two armies resumed their former positions. This bloody battle, which lasted from three in the morning to five in the afternoon, cost the allied army of British and Russians, by the official returns, avowedly incomplete, not less than two thousand five hundred men. Other accounts made the loss far greater; and not an inch of ground had been gained by the present *victory;* being the third obtained over the enemy in the space of about as many weeks. But it must, in justice, be acknowledged, that the duke of York was not a general easily discouraged; for, in his public letter to Mr. secretary Dundas on this occasion, he says, "I have much consolation in

being able to state, that the efforts which have been made, although not crowned with success, so far from militating against the general object of the campaign, promise to be highly useful to our future operations." A paradox which seemed to defy all solution. BOOK XXXII. 1799.

From the day of the battle of Bergen, nothing of importance passed for almost a fortnight. The channel of the Amstel was by this time rendered impassible to ships of war, and the inhabitants of Amsterdam had completely recovered from their first alarms. The two armies, continuing to intrench themselves in their opposite positions, became every day more formidable to each other. But, as this was not precisely the way in which Holland was to be conquered, the royal commander resolved, October 2, upon another general attack. This was directed chiefly against the village of Bergen, situated between sand-hills extending to the sea, and extensive woods through which passes the great road to Haerlem. The columns of the English, commanded by generals Abercrombie and Dundas, after a most gallant resistance, forced the posts of Egmont and Bergen. The centre of the French and Batavian army was also broken; and general Brune thought it expedient to take a new and still stronger position than the former, at Beverwick, three leagues only from Haerlem. This fourth

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victory was attended with the serious loss of above two thousand men; but on the next day the British army took triumphant possession of Alkmaer. The hopes of the commander-in-chief now became very sanguine. "I entertain no doubt," says his royal highness in his official dispatch, "that the extent of country which will now be under the protection of the allied army, and rescued from French tyranny, will afford an opportunity to its loyal inhabitants of declaring themselves."

Successive victories of the duke of York.

On the 6th of October the duke found it necessary to renew his attack, to use his own words, "before the enemy had an opportunity of strengthening by works the short and very defensible line which he occupied; and to oblige him still further to retire before he could be joined by the reinforcements which were upon their march." At first little opposition was shown, and the English and Russians succeeded in taking possession of the villages of Limmen, Baccum, &c. But, the enemy gradually advancing their whole force, the action become general along the whole line from Limmen to the sea, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides till night; when the enemy retired, leaving the allies masters of the field of battle. Such at least is the flattering relation of the royal commander. The French accounts, on the contrary, state that

general Brune, who greatly distinguished himself on this occasion by his personal exertions, and who had two horses killed under him, charging at the head of his cavalry, broke the line of English and Russians, and drove them, from their several positions, beyond Baccum. The loss of the allies, in this fifth engagement, was no less than two thousand five hundred and fifty-five men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and, in consequence of this rapid series of victories, the situation of the victors became extremely critical. From the prisoners taken in the last battle, the duke of York learned "the certainty of the enemy's having been reinforced, since the action of the 2d, by six thousand infantry; and of their having strengthened the position of Beverwick, and fortified strongly, in the rear of it, points which it would still be necessary to carry before Haerlem could be attacked. The enemy had also retired a large force upon Purmirind, which, as the allied army advanced, would be placed in the rear. Such obstacles," however, the duke declares, "would have been overcome, had not the state of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and the total want of the necessary supplies, presented difficulties which required the most serious consideration." Having maturely weighed the "difficulties" in which the army was thus placed, the duke, after holding a council of war, deter-

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mined to turn his victorious back upon the foe, deeming it, to adopt again his own words, "for the benefit of the general cause, to withdraw the troops from their advanced position, in order to wait his majesty's further instructions." That the safety of the allied army required this retrograde movement, no possible doubt can be entertained: but how this retreat, which evidently amounted to an absolute abandonment of their object, could possibly conduce to "the benefit of the general cause," or in any degree promote the success of it, is another paradox which no common sagacity can hope to explain.

The English and Russians now evacuated in succession the different posts they had occupied, and concentrated their strength in their intrenchments within the Helder point. Alkmaer and Hoorn were again taken possession of by the French army, who in a manner invested the English camp. In the face of this army it would have been very hazardous to have attempted a re-embarkation. On the other hand, the English had it in their power to devastate the country by breaking down the dykes. In this situation, it was the mutual interest of both to avoid extremities. The duke of York had indeed declared, that his intention in withdrawing his troops was to wait his majesty's orders; but his situation was too critical to allow him to wait long. In a few

days subsequent to his arrival at the Helder, he sent a flag of truce to general Brune, proposing an immediate agreement on the basis of an armistice, or of the free retreat and re-embarkation of his army. This proposition was regarded by general Brune as much too favourable to the allies; but, a negotiation in consequence taking place, on the 18th of October a convention was signed, the leading articles of which imported that "the combined English and Russian army shall embark as soon as possible, without committing any devastation by inundations, cutting the dykes, or otherwise injuring the sources of navigation; and that eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, shall be restored, without conditions, to their respective countries."

Convention of the Helder.

The duke of York, in the dispatch which transmitted the intelligence of this humiliating convention, modestly acknowledged "that he had from day to day additional reason to apprehend that any attempt towards a prosecution of the campaign in this country could not be attended with *decisive* advantages." And his royal highness, on the consideration of circumstances, was pleased to express his "*conviction* that the most advisable measure to pursue was to remove with the army to England—resting confident that he shall have the satisfaction of knowing that his

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conduct in not waiting for previous instructions from home has met with his majesty's gracious approbation."

Thus ended this memorable expedition, which aimed at no less than the entire subversion of the Batavian republic, but which only served to consolidate the new government, to add another garland to the Gallic laurels, and to display in the most striking colors the detestation which pervaded the Dutch nation of the serene house of Orange, and of all those who by force attempted the re-establishment of the stadtholderate. The facility, nevertheless, with which the court of London, and the zealous partisans of that court, expected to accomplish the purposes of this rash and unadvised expedition, is scarcely credible. "To an army of forty-five thousand men," says one of the most respectable of the government writers, "full of emulation, from the general to the last soldier, to a squadron commanding the Zuyder Sea, to the support which there are hopes of obtaining from a great portion of the inhabitants, and to the ancient and unalterable attachment of the Dutch regular troops to the stadtholder, what do the Batavian directory, the revolutionary faction, and their extravagant guardians on the banks of the Seine, oppose? About twenty thousand French, commanded by a *printer's boy* of Limosin; by that Brune who juggled

and pillaged Switzerland; who received his military and political education in the tennis courts of the French revolution.*" When such was the language applauded by the English court, who could wonder at the repeated disappointments which, in the course of seven campaigns, had equally amazed its ignorance and confounded its pride?

State of St. Domingo.

The commercial relations of France with other countries, and even with its own colonies, were rendered extremely difficult, from the great naval superiority of Britain. The island of St. Domingo still displaying indications of a disposition to independence, general Hedouville had been sent out by the directory as governor of that great colony, and with a view efficaciously to re-establish the authority of the mother country. But finding Touissant in possession of all the real power of government, he in a short time returned to France, after in vain inviting the people to rally round the constitutional act. Immediately on his departure, in the autumn of 1798, Touissant sent his own aide-de-camp with dispatches for the directory, recriminating on Hedouville, asserting his attachment to France, and trusting that St. Domingo, "delivered from the dangers to which it had been exposed, would continue its progress under the protection of constitutional

* Vide British Mercury, by M. Mallet du Pan, September 30.

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laws, and the auspices of that liberty which it had obtained." This negro chief had in a wonderful manner succeeded in restoring tranquillity, and even a considerable degree of prosperity, to this invaluable colony. He was for a time strongly opposed by general Rigaud, another native chief, who had great influence in the southern departments of the island; and some bloody encounters had during the present year taken place between them to the disadvantage of Rigaud; when an order, rendered necessary by the actual state of things, was received from the directory, appointing Touissant sole governor of St. Domingo, and the peace of the island was at once restored.

Capture of Surinam.

In the month of August (1799) Surinam, the last, and generally considered as the most valuable, of the Dutch colonies on the continent of South America, submitted to a small squadron of ships of war in those seas, commanded by lord Hugh Seymour, without making any attempt at resistance. Another possession was thus added to those Atlantean conquests which have so invariably proved the bane of the victors; and where pestilence suspends perpetually, and by a single hair, over the votaries of avarice and sensuality, the fatal sword of death.

Situation of France.

From the detail of a campaign upon the whole very disastrous to France, it is necessary to revert to her internal and domestic situation, which,

as the summer advanced, seemed fast approaching to some great crisis. The subversion of the directorial constitution had long been meditated; but any mode of execution, free from desperate hazard, had not yet presented itself. The liberty of the press, it must be remembered, had been put under the *special protection* of the directory, by an article of the law of the famous 19th Fructidor. The council of five hundred now ventured to declare, that great abuses had been committed, under this pretext, by the agents of those in power, who were thus secured against all denunciations. On the motion of Boulay de la Meurthe, once the zealous defender of the directory, a message was sent to the executive government, importing, that in the present alarming crisis the council expected such communications as were prescribed by the constitution. An address to the people of France was also, on the motion of Français de Nantes, published at the same time; which was regarded as an appeal to the nation against the usurpation and despotism of the executive power. The directory saw the storm gathering round their heads. The tide of public opinion had set strongly against them; and any fresh violence practised against the councils, would, in all probability, only serve to hasten their own ruin. The vengeance of the opposition, of which Sieyes was considered as the head,

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appeared to be levelled against the three directors, Merlin, Lepaux, and Treilhard; for Barras, deeming it safest to second the views of Sieyes, had already made his peace with the leaders of the opposition; who also carried on a secret and confidential intercourse with the chiefs of the military stationed in and near the metropolis.

Changes in the directory.

On the 15th of June (1799) the council, not having received any reply to the message, declared itself permanent, and appointed a special commission, invested with extraordinary powers, and consisting of eleven members. The director Treilhard being a man of a mild disposition, equally unfit and unwilling to engage in those scenes of violence which seemed approaching, a pretext was found to remove him from the directorial office. The thirteenth article of the constitution stated, that no member of the legislative body can be elected into the directory, either during the time of his legislative functions, or during the year which follows the expiration of his functions. Now Treilhard, having been chosen director 26 Floreal, 6th year, it was opportunely discovered that four days were wanting to complete the intervening year. Treilhard instantly, and with apparent eagerness, acknowledged the violation, and abdicated his office. The vacancy was filled by Gohier, president of the tribunal of revision, and

the council now possessed a majority of votes even at the directorial board.

It was next proposed to pass a decree of accusation against the two refractory directors, Merlin and Lepeaux: but, first, a deputation was sent from the council to invite them to give in their resignations. After some high language this compromise was adopted, and the two directors quitted the Luxemburg amid the execrations of the people. In their room the choice of the legislature fell on two very obscure and insignificant persons, Roger Ducos and Moulins, who were supposed less likely, than others of higher consequence, to dispute or oppose the will of Sieyes. A report from the committee of eleven was presented by Français de Nantes, containing a strong and well drawn picture of the late directorial government; many of the instruments of which were formally denounced, particularly Scherer, who had fled from the combined vengeance of the law and the people. General Bernadotte succeeded as minister of war: and Scherer, to the general astonishment and indignation, as has been before related, was promoted to the command of the army of Italy.

On the 26th of June the new directory sent a message to the council, enumerating the disorders and necessities of the state, and inviting the

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council to adopt the most speedy and effectual measures for warding off from the political body the dissolution with which it was threatened. In consequence of this message, a general levy of conscripts was decreed, and a coercive loan of one hundred millions. A second address to the French nation was also published, inviting them to co-operate with their representatives in the arduous and necessary work of political regeneration. The general ferment rose to such a height, that, notwithstanding the tacit engagement of impunity, the council was virtually compelled to pass a vote that there was room for accusation against the four ex-directors, Merlin, Lepeaux, Reubel, and Treilhard. The violent party, even after carrying this point, were by no means satisfied: and the jacobins, to whom Sieyes had ever been odious, and who had again been permitted to hold their assemblies, began to include him also in their daily and nightly denunciations. His famous declaration at the time of the flight of Louis to Varennes, respecting the superior eligibility of a pyramid to a platform of government, was revived; his secret negotiations at Berlin animadverted upon; and every art put in practice to represent him as a concealed royalist. In the midst of the general agitation, Sieyes preserved a profound and dignified silence: but Courtois, a member of the legislative council,

formally denounced the jacobin society at the Manege, as harboring designs of the most dangerous nature, and such as tended speedily to revive the reign of terror. In the result, the council determined that no popular society should hold its sittings within their precincts; and the jacobins, amidst a torrent of menace and invectives, were finally compelled to abandon the Manege.

Law of hostages passed.

In order to secure the internal tranquillity of the republic, a most tyrannical law passed, known by the appellation of the law of hostages, by which the relations of emigrants, and other suspected persons, were made personally and civilly responsible for the disorders which should take place in the communes which they inhabited: and empowering the administrators of departments to secure any number of citizens of this description as *hostages* for the good behaviour of the rest. This law, as might be expected, was the signal of almost universal revolt; and a state of open insurrection, however dangerous, seemed preferable to a submission to laws founded in such abominable injustice.

The restraints on the liberty of the press being relaxed, both jacobins and royalists attacked the existing government with the most unbounded acrimony of censure: and a formal complaint being preferred by the directory to the council

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of a practice so audacious, as tending to the absolute dissolution of the state, a commission was appointed for the suppression of this grievance.

The proposition also for the accusation of the four ex-directors was finally rejected, notwithstanding the public voice in its favor. It was alleged, with great plausibility, that if scaffolds were thus erected for the first magistrates of the republic, government would lose all its weight and dignity in the public estimation; that faction would never cease to threaten their successors with a similar catastrophe; and that, with such an example before their eyes, it would be impossible in future to feel confidence sufficient to attempt the execution of such bold and decisive measures as might, in certain circumstances, be necessary to save the country. It was, however, the subject of bitter regret, that men, who had brought the nation into so deplorable a state, whether from treachery or misconduct, should escape that punishment which was so justly their due.

The jacobin club, driven from the Manege, now held its assemblies in a church situated in the Fauxbourg St. Germaine, where they continued their debates with the same, or, if possible, increasing, virulence and insolence. And not Paris merely, but Lyons, Toulouse, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Valence, and various other

cities, witnessed with terror the revival of those political unions which had so lately covered their country with blood. A correspondence was established between the society at Paris and those affiliated clubs; denunciations were openly made against members of the existing government, and a general dread of the return of the reign of terror began to pervade the public mind. On the anniversary of the fall of the miscreant Robespierre, the jacobins hung their tribune with black; while the constituted authorities repaired to the Champ de Mars to celebrate it as a day of thanksgiving. Sieyes was then president of the directory; and, in his public discourse on this occasion, he drew a most striking picture of the crimes and atrocities of the principal actors in those dreadful scenes by which the reign of jacobinism was distinguished. And soon after, on occasion of a message from the council of elders to the directory, denouncing the jacobins, a report was transmitted to the council, framed by the minister of police, Fouché, in which the societies of Paris and the departments were represented as directed by foreign agents, alienating the public mind by incessant calumnies, and openly violating the constitution.

The report of the minister received a more ample developement in the speech delivered by the director Sieyes in the Champ de Mars, on

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the anniversary of the 10th of August, when, in a strain of glowing eloquence, he held up the members of those societies as "TRAITORS subsidised by the common enemy, or slaves only to their passions, anxious either for the speedy restoration of royalty, or preferring rather the return of that terror so justly abhorred by the French." The necessity of saving the country, incapable of saving itself, became the favorite subject of discussion in the societies: but, in the midst of their debates, the directory, with prompt decision, passed a decree, by which their doors were instantly shut, seals were put on all their papers, and a military guard stationed before each place of meeting. Domiciliary visits for a month were likewise authorised, in order to clear the metropolis of those swarms of jacobins and royalists who had poured in from all the departments in order to share in the new revolution, to be jointly effected by those old and inveterate adversaries.

Jacobin meetings suppressed.

These bold measures equally surprised and enraged the faction against which they were directed. At Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and various other places, revolutionary movements were excited, although immediately repelled by the military. But in the council of five hundred the leaders of the party exerted themselves to the utmost, in order to regain their former ascendency. Matters being prepared, general Jourdain represented

the dangers to which the republic was exposed. Italy lost, Batavia invaded, and even the frontier of France itself menaced by the enemy. Within, a vast royalist conspiracy, completely organised, and ready to burst forth. On every side the torches of civil war lighted, and the patriots sacrificed. He then proceeded to state to the council the necessity of continuing the sitting; and urged the revival of the famous plan of Barrere, that the country should once more rise in a mass for the defence of its liberty and independence. And he concluded with moving to declare the republic in danger. This was vehemently opposed by Lucien Bonaparte, who recommended a plenary confidence in the directory, protesting against the projects of permanence, federation, and other revolutionary measures suggested by Jourdain and his co-adjutors. "Great as the evils were which the nation suffered, and greater still as were those which it apprehended, constitutional remedies were at hand; and he deprecated the adoption of such measures as were calculated to lead insensibly to the commission or sufferance of crimes, the bare idea of which would make the assembly start back with horror." The motion of Jourdain was at length negatived by 245 voices to 171. A vast majority of the citizens of Paris, who placed a just reliance on the talents and firmness of Sieyes, re-

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joiced in this decision; but a profligate mob, who surrounded the hall of the assembly, insulted the deputies who voted against the motion of Jourdain, and scarcely could they be restrained by the military from acts of open outrage.

Partial insurrections had for some time past disturbed the peace of various departments; but, towards the end of August, a general insurrection broke out in the department of Mayenne, on the right of the Loire; when the insurgents, who had hitherto kept chiefly within their woods and fastnesses, appeared in force, with leaders at their head, deposing the constituted authorities; and, styling themselves the royal and catholic army, they openly avowed their intention of restoring the church and monarchy. The spirit of revolt, equally cherished by royalists and jacobins, rapidly diffused itself; and in a short space of time no less than twenty departments were in a state of the most alarming commotion.

Fatal consequences of the law of hostages.

The folly, as well as wickedness, of the law, respecting departmental hostages now became fully apparent; and, the forced loan having proved very unproductive, the treasury was exhausted, and without recourse. The republic was rent with the rage of civil discord, the armies of France were defeated, and the enemy triumphant. Suspicion and fear pervaded every mind; public confidence was annihilated; and an insur-

mountable apathy, or rather despair, prevailed among those who had so long breathed ineffectual wishes for their country. Justice had become a name; patriotism a mask; liberty a phantom; and virtue a deception. Obscure and opposing machinations involved every one in perplexity; and the state appeared reeling, as it were, like a drunken Bacchanal, without either guide, guardian, or support.

All France felt the full force of her past and present evils, and the imperious necessity of establishing a better order of things. She required a government capable of repairing the ruins of the political edifice; or rather of re-constructing it on more solid and durable foundations. But by what miraculous interposition was this to be accomplished? By what super-human means was confidence to be restored, was courage to be re-animated, was civil discord to be healed, and authority, now every where spurned at, to be invigorated and confirmed? To solve these interesting questions, it is now become necessary to revert to the history of that celebrated commander who, in the spirit of romantic enterprise, had, in the beginning of the preceding year, bid adieu to his country, in search of new adventures, and in the hope of acquiring fresh and, if possible, more verdant laurels on the opposite side of the globe.

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Transactions in Egypt.

The genius of general Bonaparte, fertile in resources, and confident in its own superiority, seemed to expand in proportion as new difficulties presented themselves. The defeat of Aboukir, the hostile disposition of the Turkish court, with the obstinate resistance of the Mamelouks, rendered his original project, of transporting a great part of his army to India by the Red Sea, totally impracticable. On the contrary, the French commander had good reason to believe that his entire force would be scarcely sufficient to maintain possession of his new conquest, in opposition to the expected attack against Egypt both on the side of Syria and on that of the Mediterranean. Ibrahim Bey, with the remains of his Mamelouks, after the victory obtained over him by general Kleber, had fled towards Gaza; Achmed Djezzar, pacha of Acre, receiving him with the utmost cordiality, and threatening the French garrisons in that quarter by great hostile preparations. General Bonaparte immediately adopted the resolution to anticipate the intentions of Djezzar, by attempting an expedition into Syria, in order either to gain or to chastise the pacha, and then return to the defence of Egypt.

The weeks which intervened from the entire submission of the Egyptians, to the moment when the troops destined to this purpose prepared to march, were employed in scientific in-

vestigations, and in military and naval surveys; particularly that of the lake Menzala by general Andreossi. The resolution of the famous problem relative to the existence of the canal of Suez was the object of Bonaparte's personal attention. He had detached, about the middle of November (1798), a corps of 1500 men, who had taken possession of Suez. Thither he repaired himself, at the end of the following month, with Monge and Berthollet; and, bending his way to the north of Suez, he found the entrance of the canal, and followed the course of it for more than four leagues. Returning by Belbeis, he again traced the vestiges of the same great work upon the border of the cultivated and watered lands of Lower Egypt. He then charged Peyre to take the level of the canal, beginning his operation from Suez*.

*. "The unanimous testimony of the historians of antiquity," says M. Fleurieu, "and that of the Arabic authors, permit us not to doubt that there has existed a canal by which the Mediterranean and the Nile communicated with the Arabian Gulph or Red Sea. And why should not this communication be again opened? Who can now be made to believe the moderns cannot accomplish what it was possible for the ancients to perform. We find in the *Mémoires de l'Academie des Sciences* of the year 1702, that M. Boutier, consul of France, in Egypt, in examining the disposition of the Delta, at the beginning of this century, remarked the end of a canal issuing from the eastern branch

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During this survey general Bonaparte had adopted the precaution to send a body of troops

of the Nile, and the learned Delisle judged this to have been the same which formed the ancient communication of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Herodotus, book 11, says that there was in the plain of Egypt a canal cut a little above the city of Bubastii, and below a mountain that ran towards Memphis; that this canal extended very far from west to east; that afterwards it turned off to the south, and extended to the Red Sea. According to Herodotus, this work, begun and abandoned by Nechos son of Psammetichus, was resumed and completed by Darius the son of Hystaspes: two gallies could pass there abreast.

Diodorus, in the first book of his *Bibliotheca*, gives a description of the canal which agrees with that of Herodotus, from which it differs only in his stating the canal to be left imperfect by Darius, to whom some unskilful engineers represented that the Red Sea, being higher than Egypt, would inundate it, and in his causing it not to be finished; but by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

STRABO, 1st book of his geography, agrees in all points with Diodorus. He informs us besides, that at the point of the gulph which is called the Red Sea were two cities, Hieropolis and Arsinoe, also named Cleopatris; and, speaking of the expedition made into Arabia by Ælius Gallus, the first governor of Egypt for the Romans, he says that Gallus caused vessels to be built near an antient canal branching from the Nile."

In the year of the Hejira 150, or 735 of the Christian era, Abu-Giafar Almanzor, the second caliph of the Abassides, as we learn from Elmancinus, an Arabic author, caused this canal, or a canal answering to this description, to be stopped up towards the Arabian Gulph or Red Sea.—*Vide Marchand's Voyage, edited by Fleurieu*, vol. ii. p. 214.

towards El Arisch, near the entrance of the desert on the side of Syria: and general Regnier, with the first division of the army, had taken post at Salahieh and Cathieh, on the opposite extremity of the desert. All these places are cultivated spots, with wells, and plantations of palm-trees, insulated amid the sandy and burning waste. Bonaparte himself returned to Cairo for the purpose of giving his last orders respecting the march of the army; which consisted of about 13,000 regular troops, provided with a train of light artillery. General Desaix was left with a considerable force in the command of Upper Egypt, to keep in awe the remains of the Mamelouks under Mourad Bey. General Dugua was entrusted with the government of Cairo; Menou was stationed at Rosetta, Almeyras at Damietta, and Marmont at Alexandria.

Capture of El Arisch.

General Kleber, joining Regnier (February 4, 1799) at Cathieh, marched on to El Arisch, the garrison of which consisted of 2000 chosen troops. A convoy destined for this place being intercepted, and general Bonaparte arriving in person on the 17th, the fort surrendered on the 19th, the garrison being released on condition of their retiring to Bagdat. The French army now, in different divisions, urged its painful march across the desert—following each other in succession, at two days' distance, that they might not exhaust

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the wells of water. On the 24th of February the head-quarters were fixed at Khan-Jounesse, the first village of Palestine, whence the beautiful plain of Gaza, bounded by distant rising hills, was plainly discernible. The enemy fell back from Gaza; and Bonaparte, entering the city, found there a great quantity of provisions and warlike stores.

General Bonaparte enters Palestine.

Capture of Gaza.

On the 1st of March the army moved towards Jaffa, the ancient Joppa. The trenches were immediately opened; and, in a few days, the breach appearing practicable, the place was carried by assault; and the greater part of the garrison, who made a resistance equally furious and obstinate, put to the sword. "Never," says the general in his official dispatch, "did the horrors of war appear to me so hideous." Of these horrors, however, he with studied caution avoided the detail; but it subsequently appeared, that of the Turkish prisoners a most barbarous massacre, in cool blood, took place three days after the capture. Jaffa was an acquisition of the highest importance, being a secure depôt for whatever commodities or stores might be sent to the French from Damietta and Alexandria.

Capture of Jaffa.

The army now continued its march from Jaffa, not without being incessantly harrassed on both flanks. On the 17th they encamped at Sabarien, at the opening of the defiles of Mount Carmel,

French army encamp on Mount Carmel.

leading to the plains of Acre—names which revive all the romantic and chivalrous ideas associated with the crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.* On arriving at Caiffa, at the foot of the mountain, the advanced guard, to their surprise, discovered a squadron, hoisting the English flag, lying off the coast, and which soon appeared sufficiently near to annoy them with repeated discharges of grape shot. It was commanded by commodore sir Sydney Smith, who had already distinguished himself by his ardent and daring spirit of enterprise on various occasions. On the 18th the French army encamped on an insulated height in the vicinity of the city of Acre†, and bordering the sea, at about a mile

Siege of Acre.

* "Lo, the toilsome voyage past,
Heaven's favour'd hills appear at last!
Object of our holy vow,
We tread the Syrian valleys now.
From Carmel's almond-shaded steep
We feel the cheering fragrance creep;
O'er Engaddi's shrubs of balm
Curls the vine, and waves the palm.
See Lebanon's aspiring head,
Wide his immortal umbrage spread!"

WARTON.

† Called by the French St. Jean d'Acre, on account of its having been the residence of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and defended by them, in the times of the crusades, against the Saracens.

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distance. On the other side was a plain of considerable extent, bounded by the hills beyond which flows the celebrated river Jordan.

General Bonaparte, not expecting any considerable resistance from this place, ordered the castles of Safflet and Shefflanz to be taken possession of, in order to clear the route to Damascus. But the English commander had adopted the precaution to send able engineers to the assistance of Djezzar Pacha, who had repaired the ancient fortifications of the city, consisting, agreeably to the fashion of the twelfth century, of curtines flanked with square towers. On the 19th the trenches were opened, and the labor of erecting batteries commenced. But scarcely was the investment of the fortress completed, when Bonaparte received the inexpressibly mortifying intelligence, that the flotilla under admiral Perée, on board of which his whole train of battering artillery, together with a large quantity of warlike stores, was embarked at Alexandria, had been encountered by the English squadron, which captured the greater part of the vessels, the remainder, with difficulty, taking refuge in the port of Jaffa. The cannon and stores were instantly landed at Acre from the flotilla, and converted to the defence of the place which they had been designed to destroy. The presence of the English commander diffused a new and heroic

Train of battering artillery intercepted by sir Sydney Smith.

spirit into the pacha and the garrison, who now determined to exert every possible means of resistance. "The town" says sir Sydney Smith, in an official dispatch to lord Nelson, "is not nor ever has been defensible according to the rules of art, but, according to every other rule, it must and shall be defended;—not that it is in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach that Bonaparte means to march to further conquests."

Gallant defence of Acre.

On the 29th of March, a breach being effected, the troops advanced to the assault, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Encouraged by this success, Djezzar sent emissaries to Damascus, Aleppo, Saïd, and Nauplusium, to raise in a mass all the mussulmen capable of bearing arms, "in order," said the *firman*, "to combat the infidels." He affirmed, "that he was supported by a formidable English force; and that they had only to appear in order to exterminate their enemies." Sir Sydney Smith also wrote circular letters to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and likewise to the scheiks of the Druses, "recalling them," to adopt his own expression, "to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp." He sent them, moreover, a copy of Bonaparte's "impious proclamation," in which he boasts, according to the representation of sir Syd-

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ney Smith, "of having overthrown all Christian establishments;" accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them, in the genuine spirit of chivalry, "to choose between the friendship of a CHRISTIAN KNIGHT and that of *an unprincipled renegado.*" General Bonaparte, therefore, now found himself in a singular predicament; being openly denounced as an infidel and renegado, for speaking with too much complaisance of the religion of Mahomed, by those very persons who acknowledged, by the same public and authentic declaration, the ignorant and ferocious votaries of that religion, as ranking in the number of their dearest friends and allies. A CHRISTIAN KNIGHT combating not against but in aid of "the Turkish miscreants," was a strange phenomenon in Palestine; and it must be owned that the renowned CŒUR DE LION would never have recognised him in that character.

Turkish army assembles at Damascus.

The exhortations and denunciations, however, of the English commander and the Turkish pacha, conjoined, produced a great effect. Troops were speedily assembled at Damascus and elsewhere for the relief of Acre. Meanwhile the brave garrison made continual sallies. The battering in breach with the field-pieces commenced anew, but with little effect. A small part of the counterscarp, however, falling in, the

French attempted a lodgement in the tower of the breach, but were again repulsed. On the 8th of April the garrison sallied at once on the right, the left, and the centre, of the French. At the head of each column were the marine troops of the English vessels: all the batteries were served by the English; and the British standard, for the first time, waved beside the Turkish crescent. A furious conflict ensued, in which the reverses of the parallels were covered with slain. The French accounts affirm, that the heads of the wounded, and of the prisoners taken by the Turks, were cut off, and their bleeding bodies enveloped in sacks and thrown into the water. "Yet," say they, "the English flag floated on the ramparts by the side of that of Djezzar!"

Bonaparte, now receiving intelligence that the Mamelouks of Ibrahim Bey, with the Janisaries of Damascus and Aleppo, were preparing to pass the Jordan, in order to join the Arabs and mountaineers of Nauplusium, gave orders to general Kleber to advance towards Nazareth, in order to observe the enemy, whom he discovered on the heights of Sed Jarra, four leagues from that place. Descending rapidly into the plain, they attempted to surround the small force of Kleber; who not only defended himself with success, but, charging with resistless impetuosity in his turn, drove the Turks in disorder back to the

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Jordan. Here they again assembled in prodigious force; their numbers being calculated at not less than fifty thousand men. Bonaparte now began to perceive that a decisive victory only could enable him, either to remain in his present position, or to retreat with safety. On the 15th of April he quitted the camp before Acre, leaving two divisions there; and, in the course of the next day's march, from a rising ground he perceived general Kleber actually engaged with a vast body of the enemy's cavalry. He immediately formed his dispositions for turning the flank and rear of the Turks, and separating them from their camp. A cannon-shot announced to general Kleber the approach of Bonaparte. The necessary manœuvres being executed with the greatest military skill and precision, a general charge was made with the bayonet. Terror pervaded the Turkish ranks; and, perceiving themselves cut off from their camp and magazines, they fled with precipitation towards Mount Tabor; and part, attempting to ford the river, were drowned in the Jordan. The separate body of the Mamelouks, with the troops of Damascus, were at the same time surprised and totally defeated by general Murat; and the enemy experienced on this day a loss of five thousand men killed, with all their magazines, camp equipage, and stores. "What most surprised these barba-

Complete victory of Bonaparte over the Turks.

rians," say the French accounts "was to be, at the same time, beaten through a line of nine leagues;—so much were the combined movements unknown to them."

Unsuccessful affair of Acre.

General Bonaparte now returned to the hopeless task of the siege of Acre. On the 24th of April, the mine destined to spring the tower adjoining to the breach was completed. A cannonade commenced from all the batteries; but the explosion of the mine produced very little effect. A second attempt was made to obtain a lodgement in the tower, without success. Admiral Perée had disembarked at Jaffa three pieces of heavy cannon, twenty-four-pounders: these, with six other pieces, eighteen-pounders, sent from Damietta, had by this time reached Acre; and the works of the besiegers were renewed with redoubled ardor. Sallies and attacks were almost daily repeated, and the siege seemed to be converted into one continued battle. On the 7th of May a numerous fleet was descried bringing a reinforcement of men, provisions, and ammunition to the besieged. Bonaparte immediately ordered a general assault, and the covered way of the glacis and the tower of the breach were carried sword in hand; but not without great loss on the part of the assailants; seventeen French officers being killed or dangerously wounded on this occasion. Early the next morning the cur-

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tine was battered in breach, which, in falling, presented a passage sufficiently practicable. Bonaparte instantly renewed the attack; and the French were already descending into the place, with sanguine hope of success, when a detachment from the garrison, sallying through the fossé of the right and left, took the enemy in the rear. A second tower, commanding the right of the breach, severely annoyed them in flank. Combustibles also were thrown among the assailants; which occasioning great confusion, together with the fire from the houses, the barricadoes, and the palace of Djezzar, 'temporarily converted into a place of arms,' caused at length a retrograde movement, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of general Lasnes, who was himself severely wounded. Never was any prize of so little intrinsic value so obstinately and heroically contested. Divided only by a breast-work of ruins, the muzzles of the musquets touched, and the spear-heads of the standards locked. Djezzar Pacha, hearing the English were on the breach, quitted his station in the garden of the palace, where, according to the ancient and savage custom of the Turks, "he was sitting to reward those who should bring him the heads of the enemy;" and, repairing hastily to the spot, pulled down such as he could seize, with violence, say-

ing, "if any harm happened to *his English friends*, all was lost*."

All rational hope of success before Acre had now vanished; but Bonaparte could not resolve to relinquish an object which Fortune, for the first time faithless to this most distinguished of her favorites, had flattered him with so easily obtaining. He was anxious to try once more the chance of arms. On the 11th of May, this great commander, incited by excessive chagrin to an act of inexcusable rashness, caused three desperate assaults to be successively made, in which the French lost more than five hundred privates and many brave and distinguished officers. On the morning of the 12th, Bonaparte sent a flag of truce to the pacha, in order to propose a cessation of arms for the interment of the dead bodies; the effluvia from which contaminated the atmosphere. But the bearer, according to the French accounts, was forcibly detained, and scarcely escaped with life. Sir Sydney Smith relates, by way of palliation, "that while the answer was *under consideration*, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, easily indeed and speedily repelled; and that he rescued the life of the Arab dervise, who brought

* Vide official dispatches of sir Sydney Smith, dated May 2d and 9th.

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the message, from the indignation of the Turks, by taking him on board his own ship, the Tigre; and that he afterwards returned, charged by him, with a message to the French commander."

Whether this ineffectual attack was merely an act of passionate indiscretion, or of artful design, on the part of the French general, it by no means amounted to what sir Sydney Smith, in his dispatch of May 30, styles "a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and of war; for more than this could not have been affirmed of the violation of a formal treaty, had the proposal of a cessation of arms being actually acceded to*.

* That lofty energy of mind which exults and expands, as it were, in the conflict with difficulty and with danger, is very apparent in the letters written by sir Sydney Smith during the siege of Acre: and there are also discernible many traces of generosity and humanity, which are no less essential to the character of the hero. In his dispatch of May 2, he says—"Nothing but desperation can induce them," *i. e.* the French, "to mount a breach, practicable only by the means of scaling-ladders, under such a fire as we pour in upon them; and it is impossible to see the lives even of our enemies thus sacrificed, and so much bravery misapplied, without regret." In his subsequent letter of May 9th, he speaks of the courage of general Lasnes in terms of admiration; and in that of May 30, in a manner equally honorable of the exertions of general Kleber and his division. On the other hand, the gross and virulent personalities directed by the hero of Acre, the PALMERIN of ENGLAND, against the new AMADIS de GAUL, are wholly incompatible with the decorum and courtesy of

General Bonaparte now recognised the fatal necessity of raising the siege, which had been hitherto continued with unabating resolution and

knighthood. By far the most serious of the charges brought against the French commander, has, however, been fully corroborated by later and more detailed evidence, *viz.* that of "having massacred the *Turkish* prisoners taken at Jaffa, in cool blood, three days after the capture of that place."—*Vide letter dated May* 30.

The account given by Bonaparte himself of the storming of Jaffa, and the consequent events, is as follows: "At five o'clock we were masters of the town, which during twenty-four hours was given up to all the horrors of war, which never appeared to me so hideous. Four thousand of Djezzar's troops, among whom were eight hundred cannoneers, were put to the sword: part of the inhabitants were massacred. I have sent home more than five hundred persons of Damascus and Aleppo; as well as from four to five hundred Egyptians. I have pardoned the Mamelouks and Cashefs, whom we took at El-Arisch. I have pardoned Omar Makram, scheik of Cairo. I have been merciful with the Egyptians, as well as with the people of Jaffa; but *severe* with the garrison which was taken with arms in its hands—SEVERE *envers la garnison qui s'est laissé prendre les armes de la main."—Vide Official Dispatch.*

It appears from this narrative, confirmed by all the other French accounts, that the 'massacre' alluded to by sir Sydney Smith, however barbarous and unjustifiable, was by no means, according to the vulgar report and belief, universal of the captured garrison, but, as sir Sydney's letter indicates, of the Turkish prisoners only; the number of whom has never been ascertained. In extenuation of this deed of blood and horror, it has been urged that it was intended as an act of just

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pertinacity. This heavy disappointment was, however, unattended with the slightest degree of military degradation. He had, with an army of

and necessary retaliation—the Turks never having, on any occasion, given quarter to the French. It is also affirmed that the Turkish part of the garrison of Jaffa was in great measure composed of men released on their parole after the surrender of El-Arisch and Gaza; and who were therefore, by the laws of war, liable to military execution—men whom it was equally unsafe for the French commander to retain or to release. But no possible plea can reconcile such a procedure to the common feelings of humanity. It may, nevertheless, be truly said that the massacre perpetrated by the detestable Suwaroff, at Warsaw, though comparatively little animadverted upon, and the author of which has even been extolled as a Chirstian hero, was infinitely more atrocious that this of Jaffa, as admitting none of the same palliating circumstances.

As to the other popular charge against Bonaparte, not indeed mentioned or hinted at by sir Sydney Smith, of his having caused all the sick in the hospital at Jaffa to be poisoned in one night, it appears to be mere fiction and romance; and it is probably not believed by a single individual in France.

Such an act as that of poisoning six or seven hundred persons in one night, must have been as little capable of concealment as the murder of the same number of persons in open day; and it is impossible that Bonaparte could have retained, for a moment after the perpetration of it, the attachment or confidence of his troops. Upon the subject of attention to the sick, the testimony of Desgenettes, the celebrated physician-general to the French army in the east, is in the highest degree favourable to Bonaparte; whom he represents "as accustomed in person to visit and relieve those who were afflicted with the pestilential contagion."—*Histoire médicale de l'Armée d'Orient.*

thirteen or fourteen thousand men, traversed the deserts which separates Africa from Asia; and had surmounted every obstacle with unexampled activity and constancy. He had maintained, during three months, a war in the heart of Syria, and taken forty field-pieces and fifty standards. He had killed, or made prisoners, in that time, above seven thousand men; captured the fortresses of Gaza, Jaffa, and Caiffa, and totally defeated the vast army collected for the invasion and re-conquest of Egypt.

Siege of Acre raised.

The requisite preparations having been made, on the first Prairial (May 20), at nine in the evening, Bonaparte ordered the *générale* to beat, and the siege was raised, after the trenches had been open sixty days. "SOLDIERS," said the French commander, in his proclamation on this occasion, "you have a career of fatigue and danger still to run: after having disabled the east from acting against us during the present campaign, we have now to repel the efforts of a part of the west. You will there find new opportunities of acquiring glory." The army, having first buried in the sand, or thrown into the sea, their whole train of heavy artillery, commenced a painful retreat, which, in defiance of every obstacle, was executed with exemplary fortitude and little comparative loss; the general himself marching on foot for three days over the burning

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Return of Bonaparte to Grand Cairo.

sands of the desert. After dispersing the numerous parties of Arabs which harrassed them on every side, the troops arrived, without any disaster, 26th Prairial (June 15), at Grand Cairo, where they were hailed by their fellow citizens and soldiers with loud acclamations.

Here, in this great metropolis and centre of his conquests, general Bonaparte enjoyed a transient repose; undisturbed except by some unimportant operations directed against the Arabs and Mamelouks under the command of Mourad Bey. But on the 26th of Messidor (July 15,) he was informed by a letter from Alexandria that a Turkish fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, which had been long collecting in the ports of the isle of Rhodes, had cast anchor in the bay of Aboukir on the 23d. He immediately took his departure for Rhamanie, where he arrived 1st Thermidor (July 19th); the army quickly joining him in different divisions. He there learned that the Turks had landed in great force, and on the 27th Messidor (July 15), had captured the castle of Aboukir, though well fortified and in a condition to make a vigorous resistance; after which, they made every disposition to establish themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir; whence general Bonaparte determined to dislodge them. On the 7th Thermidor, the army marched to the attack, and the action soon became general. After a conflict,

Victory over the Turks at Aboukir.

clearly demonstrating how susceptible the ancient Ottoman valor was of revival under a new Solyman or Amurath, the Turks, unskilled in the military art, were put completely to the rout: Mustapha Pacha, the commander, was taken; several thousands of his followers left dead on the field; all the baggage and artillery fell into the hands of the French; and the remainder of the Turkish forces were either wholly dispersed or driven into the sea: so that a great army seemed at once annihilated. In a short time the castle of Aboukir, notwithstanding the assistance it derived from the English squadron off the bay, was compelled to surrender at discretion.

After acquiring these new laurels, rendered more wonderful to the world from the previous reports circulated *by authority* of the utter ruin of Bonaparte and his army*, that general returned to Grand Cairo, where he made such regulations as were requisite to the permanence and welfare of the rising establishments of that place; distributed rewards to those officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves; held out encouragement to the infant manufactures of the city, and the various literary and scientific institutions which had been lately set on foot; and, having ordered every thing as a great general, statesman,

* Vide official articles from Vienna, published in the London Gazette, July 6 and 9, 1799.

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and skilful administrator, he resolved, in consequence of the interesting and important intelligence recently received from Europe, to quit Egypt, and return without delay to France.

For this purpose, he required of admiral Gantheaume to make ready for sea two frigates, an advice boat, and a tartane; addressing a sealed note to each of the persons he wished to take with him, accompanied by directions not to open the note until a certain specified time, when they were to repair to the sea-shore. The 5th Fructidor, year VII, (August 23, 1799,) was the day appointed. All who had received notes arrived at the rendezvous, opened their instructions, and found they were to embark immediately. Bonaparte departs for France. Bonaparte, going on board, left a packet addressed to general Kleber, which was not to be opened till twenty-four hours after his departure. It contained the nomination of that officer to the command of the army of Egypt during his absence, and directions to confer the government of Upper Egypt upon general Desaix. He arrived, October 1st, at Ajaccio in Corsica, his native country; having, by that rare fortune which so constantly attended him, met with no part of the English fleet at sea, nor seen any vessel but one English frigate at a distance. On the 16th he reached St. Rapheau, and at two o'clock entered the town of Frejus, with his companions and suite, sur-

rounded by an immense concourse of people, assembled from all the adjacent communes, making the air resound with the cries of *Vive la République! Vive Bonaparte!*

Bonaparte arrives at Paris.

From Frejus he the next day set out for Paris with general Berthier; and was received on his arrival with the highest honors, both by the directory and the two councils;—for his great talents were acknowledged by all parties, and his fame had, indeed, extended itself throughout the world. Scarcely had he reached the metropolis, when the leaders of the different factions flocked about him to strengthen themselves with his suffrage. In the midst of this fluctuation and uncertainty, Bonaparte felt the necessity of a prompt and vigorous decision. Urged by his high and ambitious hopes, he resolved, in this perplexing dilemma, to sever with his sword the Gordian knot, and to take upon himself an immense responsibility, by seizing with a firm and daring hand the slackened reins of the state.

Bonaparte engages with Sieyes in the design of subverting the existing government.

The 18th Brumaire (November 9) was fixed upon as the period of action; and, agreeably to the plan pre-concerted with a small number of persons, of whom Sieyes was the chief, the council of elders, such only excepted as were avowedly jacobinical, were summoned to meet early in the morning; when, on the motion of Regnier, who described to them in lively colors the danger of

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the country, and the necessity of taking speedy and effective measures for its deliverance, it was by a vast majority, decreed to transfer the sittings of the legislative body to St. Cloud; and general Bonaparte was charged with the execution of the decree—the legislative guard being also placed under his orders. No sooner was this appointment officially notified to him, than he repaired to the palace of the Tuilleries, accompanied by generals Berthier and Lefevre, and, addressing the council, declared to them "that the decree their wisdom had issued, the arms of himself, and the generals his associates, would carry into execution. We will," said he, "have a republic founded on the right basis; on civil liberty and national representation—I swear it in my own name, and in that of my fellow-soldiers."

At eleven o'clock the gates of the Tuilleries were shut, and guards placed at the principal posts in and about Paris. He then reviewed the troops stationed in the courts and gardens of the palace, which resembled a camp; and published a proclamation addressed to the soldiery at large, inviting them to second him with their accustomed energy, firmness, and courage. "In what state," said he, "did I leave France? In what state have I found it? I left you peace, and I find war! I left you conquests, and the enemy

are passing your frontiers! I left your arsenals well supplied; you are without arms: robbery has been reduced to system; the resources of the state are drained; and the soldiery is without the necessary means of defence—Where are the hundred thousand comrades whom I left covered with laurels?"

On the news of the unexpected sitting of the council of the ancients, the directory called an extraordinary meeting. Gohier, at this crisis president, Moulins, and Barras, were at the directorial palace of the Luxemburg: Sieyes and Roger Ducos had previously repaired to the Tuilleries. A message was sent to the military commandant of Paris. He came; and, when called upon to explain the cause of the tumult, he answered that an irrevocable decree, which had just been issued, invested Bonaparte with the command of all the troops in Paris—that *he* was now only a subaltern; and that to the general in chief they must address themselves for any further information they required. Gohier and Moulins were at first inclined to adopt violent measures, and it was proposed to arrest general Bonaparte in his own house; but it was immediately discovered that the guard had deserted to the Tuilleries; and even that the directorial palace was invested by a troop of soldiers. The three directors, no longer supported either by public

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force or public opinion, perceived the supreme authority dropping from their hands. At noon, Barras sent in his resignation to Bonaparte, and obtained leave to retire, under a guard, to his superb villa of Gros-bois. He alone had continued from the very commencement of the existing constitution in the directorial office; and his character had been distinguished rather by dissipation and corruption than by cruelty or oppression. Moulins and Gohier were confined to their apartments in the Luxemburg: the former escaped, however, during the night, and the latter was permitted on the next day to retire to his own house.

Dissolution of the directorial constitution.

The council of five hundred opened their sitting, as usual, at noon. They knew nothing of the causes which had determined the conduct of the elders but from vague reports. After the *procès verbal* had been read, every one wished to be heard. But the president, Lucien Bonaparte, brother to the general, cut short all debate by reciting the decree by which the council of elders, in virtue of the 103d article of the constitution, transferred the legislative sittings to St. Cloud; and, in defiance of every attempt at opposition, declared the meeting DISSOLVED. Two proclamations were then published by general Bonaparte:—one announcing to the national guard the removal of the legislature to St.

Cloud, in order to guarantee it from the danger with which it was threatened by the disorganisation of the administrative government; the other declaring to the soldiery that he had taken the command of the army for the purpose of executing measures devised solely for the benefit of the people. And in a third proclamation, the citizens of Paris were exhorted to remain quiet, and informed that the measures which would be adopted were intended to re-establish interior order, to restore liberty, and fix the republic on sure foundations. In consequence of these public avowals, and still more of the universal persuasion which prevailed, that the result of the measures now in agitatoin would be found highly beneficial, the most profound tranquillity reigned throughout that vast city; and the committee of inspection, appointed by the council of elders with the directors Sieyes and Ducos, remained all night at the Tuilleries to prepare matters for the sitting on the ensuing day, conformably to the decree.

On the next morning the senate assembled in the great gallery at the palace of St. Cloud, and the council of five hundred occupied the orangery, which opened on the garden. Gaudin, a member of the great council, moved, at the end of a speech stating the urgent necessity of such a measure, that a committee of seven should be

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chosen to make an immediate report on the situation of the state; but no sooner had he concluded, than a violent clamor arose—some moving for a message to the council of elders to know the motives of such a translation; others for a renewal of the oath of fidelity to the constitution. After the first tumult had subsided, the proposition for a renewal of the oath was made in form, and carried by acclamation.

In the mean time Bonaparte was engaged in haranguing the council of elders, and exhorting them to associate their wisdom with his firmness. He declared the constitution of the year III to be at present nothing but a ruin—that it had been successively the sport of every party, who had each of them, in turn, trodden it under foot; and he affirmed that, in the name of the constitution, every species of tyranny had not only been practised, but sanctioned and organised. On using in the course of his speech the memorable words "WE WILL SAVE THE REPUBLIC AND LIBERTY!" a voice exclaimed, "Who will answer for it?" On which, with a noble enthusiasm, or the *semblance* of it, suddenly apostrophising the surrounding military guard, "SOLDIERS!" cried he, "SAY if I ever deceived you when I promised you victory?" He concluded with exhorting the ancients to take the most speedy measures to save the country.

Having finished his speech, general Bonaparte repaired to the council of five hundred; who, after renewing their vows of fidelity to the constitution, were discussing with warmth the questions of electing a successor to Barras, of making an appeal to the people, of returning to Paris in a mass, &c. when the general presented himself at the door of the orangery, accompanied by several officers and soldiers without arms. He advanced a few steps into the room, as if wishing to address the assembly; when a hundred voices in an instant exclaimed, "DOWN with the TYRANT! DOWN with the DICTATOR! KILL HIM! KILL HIM! Divers of the members even left their seats, and rushed towards the door, imprecating vengeance, with menacing gesticulations; and Arena, one of the deputies, struck a blow at him with a poinard, which one of the grenadiers parried, and received on his arm. Bonaparte, with all his heroism, stood for a moment astonished and speechless; for, though he doubtless expected opposition, he was not prepared for a scene of such frantic violence. Jacobinism personified, seemed to present itself to his view; murder in its eye, and the dagger in its hand. The officers who accompanied him at length came forward to rescue their chief from the danger which environed him; and Bonaparte was persuaded to

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return to the soldiery drawn up in the court of the palace.

The president, Lucien Bonaparte, now ascending the tribune, proclaimed aloud that the general had no other design than to impart to the council very important information respecting the present situation of affairs; and demanded that he should be called into the hall to state to the assembly the motives of his conduct. But his voice was drowned in the tumult of reproaches and exclamations; and a scene of chaotic confusion ensued, till the president, throwing off his robe, declared himself divested of the presidency. Immediately poniards and pistols were presented to his breast, to compel him to resume his office; when general Lefevre, deputed by Bonaparte, by this time apprised of the dangerous situation of his brother, entered the hall at the head of a detachment of the military, and, surrounding the president, led him into the court of the palace. The troops, animated indeed by the presence of their general, but by no means unanimous or determined in their opinions, listened with profound attention to the president; while he declared to them, in moving terms, that he, as well as his brother, had been menaced with assassination; that the assembly of five hundred no longer existed; that the minority had be-

come rebels, and were holding the poinard of sedition and despotism over the heads of the unarmed majority; and that he, as president, invoked the aid of the military force to expel those rebels from the council chamber, where they were then exercising acts of despotism and violence; and were on the point of overthrowing the republic. The soldiers, on the termination of this harangue, drew their swords, rending the air with the cries of VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE!

The general, now perceiving that the critical moment was arrived, gave aloud the order to march, and was eagerly obeyed. The chamber of the council was still the seat of uproar and of anarchy, when on a sudden the *pas de charge* was heard, and the voices of the speakers were lost in the sound of drums and clarionets. In an instant the soldiers appeared at the door, preceded by officers; one of whom invited the deputies to withdraw, declaring that he would not be responsible for their safety. Very many yielded to the invitation. Others renewed their invectives and exclamations; but the *pas de charge* being sounded a second time, the grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, quickly cleared the hall; the representatives crowding into the garden, and leaving the military in complete possession of the palace. The most violent of

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the malcontents retreated with precipitation to Paris. The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with extreme apprehension; but no sooner were the circumstances attending this new revolution made known, than the Parisians appeared overjoyed at the final subversion of the Jacobin power, and the prospect of establishing a new and better government, founded on principles of justice and humanity, under the guardian care of which citizens obedient to the laws might find protection and safety.

While the conflict between the great council and the general continued, the council of elders were far from being unanimous in their resolution to adopt measures eventually subversive of the directorial constitution; and it was asserted that adequate remedies might be found for the disorders of the state, however great, without resorting to that dangerous extremity. But no sooner was the contest terminated than they agreed to the propositions—that an executive provisionary commission should be named—that the legislative body should be adjourned to the 1st Nivose (December 21)—and that an intermediary commission, to preserve the rights of the national representation, should be formed.

In the evening the council of five hundred, and that of the ancients, again assembled; but

the former now appeared of a very different complexion from that which it had worn a few hours before. Lucien Bonaparte congratulated the members present on the deliverance they had obtained from the yoke of demagogues and assassins; although the vanquished party doubtless burned to extend a second time their bloody and horrible domination over the affrighted land. His speech was interrupted only by applauses. The way being now sufficiently paved, Boulay de la Meurthe, in an eloquent harangue, demonstrated by cogent arguments the necessity of a radical change in the constitution. Under the guidance of the directory, he affirmed that France might be considered as possessing nothing stable either in its agents or its means. Under the directorial tyranny personal security was every instant violated, property was uncertain, commerce and the arts were in a state of stagnation, confidence was annihilated, and the oppression of the people carried to such excess, that it was equally dangerous to point out the evils of the state or the remedies to those evils. He developed with great sagacity the inherent defects of that constitution, and the causes which rendered it morally impossible that harmony or confidence should ever exist between the executive and legislative powers. These two authorities, instead of marching

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together, were almost always in opposition; presenting the spectacle of two furious enemies continually in action and seeking to crush each other. If a review were taken of the immediate operation of the executive power on the people, or an examination to be made of the administrative system, nothing appeared either fixed or regular. The administrators were in a state of perpetual mutation, according to the wiles or caprice of the alternately dominating party, which was itself continually occupied, not about the good of the public at large, but how to consolidate its own triumph over the adverse faction. "In short, upon investigating the public service, is there," said this orator, "a single part which is organised, or which is carried on in a regular and invariable mode? On the contrary, every thing is in chaos, and all our efforts to extricate ourselves have ended in nothing; and never can end in any thing except to plunge us deeper in the abyss of ruin. Is it astonishing, therefore, that neither public nor private liberty has yet existed in France, where all command and none obey; where nothing, in short, exists but the phantom of a government? The basis of the constitution, or the general principles of it, are indeed good; they are the principles of every republican government;—the sovereignty of the

people, the unity of the republic, equality of rights, liberty, and the representative system. But the constitutional organisation arranged on this basis is essentially vicious. It is in the conviction of the demagogues as well as of ourselves, that the actual order of things can no longer continue. They would willingly take advantage of the movement, and govern France as in 1793; while we are anxious for the establishment of a plan of liberty allied with order and productive of happiness. We wish liberty for all, they only for themselves."

On the conclusion of this speech, the project already approved by the council of elders was brought forward. It stated that the directory existed no longer—that certain deputies, to the number of sixty-one, were no longer members of the national representation—that an executive commission should be provisionally appointed, composed of Sieyes, Ducos, and Bonaparte, who should bear the appellation of consuls of the French republic—that the two councils should name commissions of twenty-five members each, charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution—the end of which changes was to consolidate, guarantee, and inviolably consecrate the sovereignty of the French people—that they should also be charged with the formation of a civil code. Finally, a pro-

Establishment of the consular government.

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clamation was issued, declaring to the people of France the events which had taken place, and the causes which led to the present changes. Thus terminated this great revolution in the state, which, like the famous preceding one of Thermidor, was wholly effected in the short space of twenty-four hours; and, like that, was received with enthusiasm by all classes of persons, the jacobins only excepted.

The three consuls entered upon their public functions the following day at the palace of the Luxemburg: and the legislative commissions also, without delay, commenced their sittings. The first objects which engaged their attention, were the repeal of the law of the forced loan, and that known under the name of the law of hostages—the former of which had extinguished the remains of public credit, and the latter once more lighted up the flames of internal war. Bonaparte's earliest and more especial care was to tranquillise La Vendée and the neighbouring departments, where Discord, armed with the torch of Fanaticism, still spread destruction around her. For this purpose general Bernadotte was sent thither with a powerful force. But mild and persuasive measures were the principal arms used in this warfare. Peace was offered to the chief of the leaders, and the terms were accepted. In a short time there remained only a few hordes of

brigands, who could find in civil and internal dissensions alone the means of retaining an usurped authority, and of giving vent to their brutal barbarity.

In the interior, Bonaparte made every effort to pacify and unite the different factions; establishing freedom of general worship; infusing confidence into every breast harassed by the storms of the revolution, and panting for the blessings of repose. Regularity succeeded to trouble and disorder; the several branches of the military establishment were re-organised; the civil administration experienced great and essential ameliorations; and the tribunals of justice regained their activity. The list of emigrants, till this period kept open in order to be occasionally exercised as a rod of terror and of vengeance, was finally closed; and the sun of prosperity began once more to shed its benign rays on a desolated and distracted country.

During the interval between the abolition of one constitution and the establishment of another, a sort of dictatorial authority was vested in the consular commission, who, by an article of the decree enacted at St. Cloud, were specially charged with the maintenance of the public tranquillity. Under the sanction of this vague injunction, an arrêté of the consuls, issuing eight days only after the revolution, con-

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demned fifty-nine of the most furious and inveterate jacobins to banishment; thirty-seven of them to Guiana, and the remainder to the Isle of Oleron. Various arrests of other leaders of the jacobin party at the same time took place. But, although that faction had so lately practised and so publicly defended the propriety and necessity of similar measures, a violent cry of indignation was raised by them on this occasion against the new government; and very many real friends of liberty, who had suffered deeply under the jacobinical tyranny, expressed their regret that the principles of freedom should be violated even in the persons of those atrocious wretches, covered with crimes and stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens. It is, however, possible that this arrêt was designed merely to strike terror into these *terrorists;* for the decree of banishment was, soon afterwards, provisionally changed into an arrêté, placing the individuals in question under the inspection of the minister of police; and even this was in a short time repealed.

The mildness of the consular government also signally displayed itself in the termination put to the legal proscription of the catholic priesthood. Such administrations as had been active in the persecution of priests were broken; and the churches which had been converted into

places of municipal festivals, restored to their primitive uses. Also the honorable interment of the late pope, whose body lay unburied at Valence, was ordered by the consuls, and a monument erected on the spot where his remains were deposited. The recal of such citizens as had been banished, in pursuance of the revolution of the 19th Fructidor, next engaged the attention of the government; and a consular decree was passed, restoring the greater number of those individuals; among whom were Barthelemi, Carnot, Pastoret, Portalis, &c. Lucien Bonaparte was constituted minister of the interior; and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his post as minister for foreign affairs, in which capacity he had displayed great talents, and, in concert with Sieyes, he was supposed to have meditated in his retreat that revolution in the state of which Bonaparte arrived in France so opportunely to undertake the execution.

During this series of transactions, the legislative commission was diligently employed in framing the plan of a new constitution, adapted truly and practically to the state and condition of France; and the excellence of which should be proved by the good effects which it was calculated to produce, and not by its conformity to any pre-conceived delusive and visionary theory. Such was now the prevailing and po-

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pular language. At length, after a decent interval of delay and discussion, the fabric of a new government, very singular in its construction, but answering perfectly, as it was affirmed, to this description, was completed and approved, 22d of Frimaire (Dec. 13), by the consuls and members of the legislative committees, and ordered to be offered forthwith to the acceptance of the French people; and, being accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the citizens of the French republic at large, it received the express and avowed assent of a prodigious majority, and the implied and constructive sanction of the whole community*. Thus brilliantly commencing its career, the new constitution was proclaimed with great solemnity and universal acclamation at Paris, 4th of Nivose, year VIII. (Dec. 24, 1799). Previous to the memorable 18th Brumaire, Bonaparte had repeatedly said to his confidential friends, "The revolution which is in agitation will be different from all former ones. It will occasion no new proscriptions, but will cause many of those existing to cease:" and such was unquestionably the idea very generally entertained of it.

The constitutional code is divided into seven

* The votes in favor of the new constitution were 3,012,659; against it, 1562.

chapters: the chief articles contained in them are as follow:

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Consular constitution delineated.

CHAPTER I. The FRENCH REPUBLIC is ONE AND INDIVISIBLE; but it is distributed into departments and communes. *Every man* born and resident in France, of the age of twenty-one years, who has had his name inscribed in the civil register of his communal district, and afterwards remained a year on the French territory, is a *French citizen.* The citizens of every communal district shall appoint, by their suffrages, those whom they think most worthy of conducting public affairs. There shall be a list of confidence, containing a number of names, equal to a tenth of the number of citizens possessing the right of suffrage. From this communal list the public functionaries of districts shall be taken. The citizens comprised in the communal lists of a department shall appoint a tenth of their number; and from this departmental list the public functionaries of each department shall be taken. The citizens included in the departmental list shall also appoint a tenth of their number, who shall be eligible to public national functions. Every third year vacancies to be filled; and the names of those who may have forfeited the confidence of their constituents to be withdrawn. But an absolute majority of the electors is necessary to authorise

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an erasure; and no one shall be erased from the list of those eligible to national functions, merely because his name may have been struck out of any inferior list.

CHAPTER II. An assembly shall be formed under the appellation of the conservatory senate; consisting of sixty members, chosen for life, with fixed salaries amounting to 25,000 francs, to be gradually increased to eighty, by an addition of two members for ten successive years. Four persons named in the constitutional act, *viz.* Sieyes, Ducos, Cambaceres, Le Brun, shall appoint the first thirty-one members, being the majority of the senate, which shall afterwards complete itself. Subsequent vacancies shall be filled up by the senate, who shall make their choice out of three candidates separately presented to them, by the legislative body, the tribunate, and the chief consul. From the national list, transmitted by the different departments, shall be elected by the conservative senate, who shall themselves be ineligible to any other function, the legislators, the tribunes, the consuls, and the judges of cassation. The senate shall also possess the power to confirm or annul every act referred to them as unconstitutional by the tribunate or the government. The sittings of the senate are not public.

CHAPTER III. treats of the legislative power. No new law shall be promulgated unless the plan shall have been first proposed by the executive government to the legislative body; communicated by the legislature to the tribunate; considered and discussed by the members of that assembly; and finally decreed by the legislative body. The executive government is at liberty, in any stage of the discussion, to withdraw the plan or project of any law proposed, and to present it again in a modified state. The tribunate is composed of a hundred members; one fifth renewable every year; and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national list. This assembly, after discussing the plan of every law proposed, shall vote for its adoption or rejection; and shall send three members, chosen from their body, by whom the motives of their decision shall be stated and supported before the legislative body. They are, moreover, authorised to express their opinion as to all laws made or to be made; upon abuses to be corrected, and meliorations to be attempted, in every part of the public administration. The legislative body shall be composed of three hundred members, to be also renewed annually by fifths. It shall commence its session every year, 1st Frimaire (Nov. 21), and shall continue sitting at least

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four months; and it determines by secret scrutiny, without discussion, upon the plan of the laws argued upon in its presence. The sitting of the legislature and tribunate to be public; and the members of both to possess fixed salaries—the tribunes 15,000, and the legislators 10,000, francs.

CHAPTER IV. The executive government is entrusted to three consuls, appointed for ten years, but indefinitely re-eligible. The first or chief consul alone has the power of promulgating laws. He is to name or displace at pleasure the members of the council of state, the ministers, the ambassadors, the officers of the army by sea and land, the members of local administration, and the commissioners of the government at the tribunals. He is to appoint all judges, criminal and civil, as well as justices of the peace, and the judges of cassation, without the power of afterwards superceding them. Even in the inferior acts of government, the second and third consuls have deliberate voices only, and the liberty of countersigning their opinions; after which the determination of the first consul shall follow. The salary of the first consul is fixed at 500,000 francs, and that of the second and third at 75,000 francs each.

The executive government is to direct the receipts and expences of the state, conformable to the annual law, which determines the amount

of each, and superintends the coinage of money. The government may issue orders to arrest persons suspected of conspiring against the state; but if within ten days they are not set at liberty or brought to trial, it shall be considered, on the part of the minister signing the order, as an act of arbitrary detention. The government is to manage political relations abroad; to conduct negotiations; to declare war; to sign and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions. Such declarations and treaties to be proposed, discussed, and decreed, in the same manner as laws; and no act of government can have effect till it is signed by a minister. Under the direction of the consuls, the council of state is charged with drawing up the plans of laws and regulations of the public administration; and the government can only elect or retain in this council such citizens whose names are inscribed on the national list. From this council, three counsellers, to be named at the pleasure of the government, are to support, in the presence of the legislative body, the plan of such law as may be proposed for their adoption. The minister charged with the administration of the public treasury is not at liberty to make provision for any branch of the public expenditure, except by virtue of a law, and only to the ex-

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tent of the funds provided by law for that purpose; and the detailed accounts of every minister, signed and certified by him, are to be made public. The local administrations established, whether for each communal district, or for more extended portions of territory, are subject to the ministers.

CHAPTER V. relates to the judicial power of the republic. Every communal *arrondissement* shall have one or more justices of the peace, elected immediately by the citizens, for the term of three years, whose office it shall be to endeavor to reconcile the parties applying to them, by arbitrating between them. In civil matters, tribunals shall be established of first instance, and tribunals of appeal; the judges of which shall be taken from the departmental list. In criminal cases, a first jury admits or rejects the charge, a second jury pronounces on the fact, and the judges apply the punishment. Those crimes which do not amount to corporeal punishment, are tried before the tribunals of correctional police, *saving* an appeal to the criminal tribunals. There is for the whole republic one tribunal of cassation; the judges composing which are taken from the national list. This tribunal pronounces on appeals against judgments in the last resort. It does not, however, decide upon the merits, but merely re-

verses judgments given on proceedings in which the constitutional forms are violated—sending the case back for a re-hearing. The judges of all descriptions remain in office for life, unless condemned to forfeit their places, or unless discontinued on the list of eligibles, corresponding with their functions.

CHAPTER VI. Of responsibility. The functions of members, whether of the senate, tribunate, legislative body, or council of state, including ministers of the executive power, do not discharge them from responsibility. Personal crimes committed by citizens of any of these descriptions, are prosecuted before the ordinary tribunals, after a deliberation of the body to which the person under accusation belongs has authorised such prosecution. The ministers of state are moreover responsible for every act of government signed by them; and also for any orders contrary to the constitution, laws, and ordinances. In such cases the tribunate denounces the minister by an act, on which the legislative body deliberates in ordinary form, after having heard or summoned the person accused. The minister, placed in a course of judgment, is tried by a high court, without appeal or resource for a reversal. The high court is composed of judges and jurors. The judges are chosen by the tribunal of cassation from its

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own members: the jurors are chosen from the national list: the whole according to forms prescribed by the laws. The judges, civil and criminal, for crimes relating to their functions, shall be prosecuted before the tribunals to which the tribunal of cassation may send them after having annulled their acts.

CHAPTER VII. Of general dispositions or principles. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum. It can only be entered in the day, for a special purpose determined by the law, or an order emanating from a public authority. The arrest of a person must first express in form the causes for such arrest, and the law in virtue of which it is ordered. 2dly, It must issue from such functionary only as the law has invested with the power. 3dly, It must be notified to the person arrested, and a copy of it left with him. No keeper of a prison can receive or detain any person without having first transcribed on his register the act ordering his arrest, &c. &c. All persons who shall sign or execute the arrest of any person whatever; all those who, even in the case of arrest authorised by law, shall receive or detain the person so arrested in a place of confinement not publicly or legally designated as such; and all keepers of prisons who shall act contrary to the dispositions here detailed,

shall be guilty of the crime of arbitrary detention. All severities used in arrest, detentions, or executions, other than those commanded by the laws, are crimes.

Every man has a right of addressing petitions to every constituted authority;—the public force is necessarily in a state of obedience; no armed body can deliberate;—military crimes are subjected to special tribunals, and particular forms of judgment;—a national institute is charged with receiving discoveries, and perfecting the arts and sciences;—a committee of seven, chosen by the senate from the national list, regulates and verifies the accounts of the receipts and expenses of the public.

The *régime* of the French colonies is determined by special laws. In case of the revolt of an armed body, or of troubles which menace the safety of the state, the law may suspend in the places, and for the time it determines, the empire of the constitution. This suspension may even be provisionally declared in the same cases by an arrêté of government, the legislative body *not being sitting*, provided this body be convened at a very short time by an article of the same arrêté.

This new and extraordinary constitutional code for the government of France, exhibited, undoubtedly, upon the face of it, indications of

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political ability and wisdom, far exceeding any discoverable in the directorial system which it superseded. It developed a plan at once vigorous and practicable; and which, low as it reduced the political liberty, or more properly the political power, of the community, displayed a real and even anxious solicitude for the restoration and protection of civil liberty, or in other words for the security of the person and property of each individual. The anomalies of the new constitution, which, by the separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial, powers, is unquestionably entitled to be ranked among the few free forms of government subsisting in the world, are chiefly these: 1st, The abridgment of the right of free representation, by the creation of a conservative senate empowered to choose the members of the legislative body from a list returned by the people; —2dly, The restriction of the legislative power, by vesting in the executive magistrate the initiative privilege of propounding laws; imperiously confining the legislature to decide upon them by a simple negative or affirmative. But what would have been the consequence of establishing a system of popular liberty in the present state of France, where all the operations of government were invariably and systematically opposed by the two furious factions of ja-

cobins and royalists, actuated indeed by an excessive and inveterate detestation of each other, but at all times ready to combine for the purposes of subversion and destruction? Certainly any construction founded upon such principles must have been of transitory duration, and the framers of it would have been guilty of a species of political suicide*.

* "Cette constitution," says a very sagacious and intelligent writer, M. Saladin, in allusion to the government newly established in France, "doit être envisagée comme une constitution *de circonstance*, qui peut-être conviendra mieux dans sa pratique à la France qu'une autre beaucoup meilleure en théorie, mais qui, adaptée à sa position présente, peut aussi se changer dèsque cette position aura changé."

Coup d'Œil politique sur le Continent, A.D. 1800.

The celebrated Helen Maria Williams, who, since the commencement of the revolution, had chiefly resided in France, thus expresses herself on the subject of the consular system: "The constitution, which has been so much the subject of lamentation and obloquy without, has received a very general welcome within, and is become the regulator of the state. Those generous well-wishers to French liberty, who so eloquently deplore the usurpation and servitude which darken France, will, no doubt, ascribe to less worthy motives than cordial assent this universal acquiescence. But their mistake arises either from ignorance of the real situation of France, or reluctance to renounce their hastily-formed prejudices. The revision of the first constitution, which was not submitted to the people, produced the 10th of August. The late constitution was introduced with the cannon of Vindemiaire; and it was always doubtful, whether the majority, even of the small number who voted, were in its favor. In

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A work published by M. Cabanis, member of the commission for preparing the constitution, and subsequently elected a member of the conservative senate, entitled, by him, "Considerations on social Organisations in general, and particularly on the new Constitution," having received the approbatory sanction of the commission, was regarded as an authorised apology; and a most able one it indubitably was for the work which they had framed. A few short extracts from this publication may serve as a lesson of discretion to those who, finding their own visionary speculations unattended with the slightest difficulty, fancy that the great affairs of the world are to be managed with exactly the same degree of facility.

In pointing out the benefit of the new organisation then about to be submitted to the sanction of the people, M. Cabanis says, "The

the present case, an immense majority have sealed this great public act with their approbation; and I never heard of any who conjectured that they had thereby either sanctioned usurpation, or consented to servitude. Frenchmen, I suppose, reason like other men; and, having also had the melancholy advantage of much sad experience for their guide, they have descended a little from the regions of infinite perfectibility, to which they had hitherto soared; and, finding that it is as yet too soon to attain the best possible, have contented themselves with the best practicable."—*Sketches of Manners in the* FRENCH REPUBLIC, *Vol. II. p.* 68.

principal object and great advantage of this organisation is, that the people, without exercising any public functions themselves, have the power of designating such men to fill the offices of government as enjoy their confidence. The people do not make laws; they do not administrate; they do not judge; as in the anarchical democracies of the Roman and Grecian republics. But their legislators, their governors, and their judges, are always taken from the objects of their choice. Such is true democracy, with all its advantages; for, in reality, the most perfect equality reigns here among every class of citizens. *Any* man may be inscribed on the confidential lists, and remain so, passing through each successive reduction. It is sufficient for this purpose that he obtain the suffrages of his fellow-citizens. What obligation has he to fulfil in order to acquire that pre-eminence? To watch over his conduct, to be careful of his reputation, to cultivate the good opinion of his fellow-citizens, to accustom himself to respect in them the dignity of man—the first source of those mutual attentions, which, introducing a system of true social fraternity, will soften the mild principles of equality into sentiments of habitual affection.

"Such is democracy purified from all its inconveniences. In this system there is no po-

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pulace to rouse into sedition, or form into clubs. The ignorant class no longer exercise an improper influence over the legislature or the government. The reign of demagogues is at an end. Every act is done for the people and in the name of the people. None is done by them, or under their imprudent and dictatorial direction. And, while their colossal force animates every part of the public organisation; while their sovereignty, the true source and the only source of all legal power, impresses on the acts of government a solemn and sacred character; they live tranquil under the protection of the laws; their faculties unfold themselves; their industry is in full exercise, and extends itself without interruption: they enjoy, in a word, the sweet fruits of rational liberty, guarantied by a government strong enough to be always their protector."

In speaking of the powers and privileges conferred upon the conservative senate, M. Cabanis styles it "a body specially commissioned to guaranty the social compact from all attacks, to maintain order and peace in the state, to watch over national liberty as a sacred trust—composed of persons well acquainted with the object in general of all legislation, well instructed in the situation of political affairs, and the state of public opinion; who may, in casting a look

over the whole of the territorial divisions of the republic, appoint to the legislative trust, from the national list, men of ability and virtue, and who have an equal interest in maintaining the maxims of liberty and peace in the state. It can scarcely be conceived that a legislative body thus formed can fail of being composed of whatever is most excellent and estimable in the nation.

"The tribunate, also, necessarily composed of men of energy and eloquence, will have the right of making continual appeals to the public; of examining in every mode the acts of government; of denouncing such as it shall judge to be infringements on the constitution; of accusing and prosecuting every agent of the executive power; of speaking and printing with the most entire independence, its members not being subject to any responibility, either for their speeches or writings. The existence of this popular magistracy, joined to the liberty of the press, which under a strong government ought always to be complete, forms one of the principal guarantees of the public liberty.

"In a republic like France the executive power ought to be strong. So wide an extent of territory; so vast a mass of population; such a violent concussion of contending interests and passions; a state of civilisation so advanced,

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and, at the same time, so corrupted; in short, an assemblage of circumstances capable of concentrating and putting in motion whatever is most enlightened, most virtuously energetic, and also whatever is most turbulent and most hostile to civil order, renders it indispensable that the executive department of the state be confided to a power which shall be *irresistible*, and which shall have sufficient confidence in its legal authority never to be tempted to overstep its true limits. Without this essential guarantee of liberty, nothing would be more easy, in the present state of affairs and of opinions, than to carry us back into the revolutionary whirlpool. There is little doubt, also, but foreign intriguers and domestic demagogues will form a confederacy, in order to hinder us from reaching the true point—namely, the creation of a vigorous government, the force of which should be put in motion only for the support of liberty. A fundamental quality in the executive power is *unity* of thought and action. It is the only real advantage of monarchy; which, under whatever form it may exist has constantly the corrupting inconvenience of referring to the person that respect which is due only to the office; and of putting into action a will guided by caprice, instead of the immuta-

ble dictate of the law*. Of whatever number of functionaries the executive power of the state be composed, it is clear that one alone ought ultimately to have the power of terminating discussions, and of fixing uncertainties. Unity of thought and action must constantly regulate the central force, whence every movement proceeds. In all cases the movement by which the laws are executed ought to be irresistible, and equally felt in every point, from the first link of the chain to the most distant ramifications. As the execution of the laws ought to meet with no resistance, so at the same time the limits of the executive power should be marked out with exactness. The first arbitrary act is not only the first step towards tyranny, but also to those insurrectional movements which, in a country and at a time of revolutions, are not long in taking place."

In conformity to the provisions of the new constitution, now actually accepted and proclaimed in due form, Bonaparte was declared

General Bonaparte declared first consul.

* In reply to this observation of M. Cabanis, it ought, in justice to our own excellent form of government, to be remarked, that the advantage which republics may boast over hereditary monarchies, as to the probable superiority of an elected over an hereditary chief, is, if any judgment may be formed from an appeal to experience, far over-balanced by the evils and mischiefs hitherto annexed to kingly and consular elections.

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first consul of the French republic, and Cambaceres and Lebrun second and third consuls; the last of these was chosen for five years only, in order to establish in future a regular alternation of elections in respect to those great but subordinate magistrates. Sieyes and Ducos, the two ex-directors and provisionary consuls, who were invested with the high and transcendent power of nominating in the first instance the majority of the conservative senate, became members of that assembly; and the former, justly supposed to have had the chief share in framing the new constitution, was rewarded by the legislative commission with the grant of an estate, part of the national domain, situated at Crosne, in the vicinity of the metropolis, of the annual value of about 15,000 francs. The choice of members to sit in the tribunal and legislative assemblies, as well as in the council of state, was highly approved and applauded by the public; and, though the majority were doubtless of the number of those who were either directly or indirectly parties in the overthrow of the late government, many were admitted whose characters were good, and whose principles moderate, however originally and openly adverse to the revolution by which that great event was accomplished.

Soon after the instalment of the new govern-

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Renewal of the negotiation with America.

ment, arrived in France Messrs. Elsworth, Henry, and Murray, late resident at the Hague, as ambassadors from the United States of America, to terminate by a treaty all the subsisting differences between the two republics. At the close of the last year, Mr. Adams, president of the United States, had, on the opening of the congress, explained the causes of the ill success which had attended the former negotiation. He spake in language by no means the most conciliatory of the acts of the French government, which he declared, "instead of putting a stop to the depredations of the French privateers, had sanctioned those depredations; and, while such principles and practices prevailed, it was impossible to support their honor and their rights except by a firm resistance." He alleged "the impossibility of sending again another embassy, without degrading the nation, until France had given a satisfactory assurance that the sacred right of ambassadors should be respected; and, as no such assurance had taken place, he inferred the necessity of making vigorous preparations for war."

The martial disposition of the president was very ill seconded by the general temper of the people; the most intelligent of whom saw the absurdity of involving the country in hostilities

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on account of rights so doubtful in their nature, and of interests comparatively so trivial in their extent. The president had the prudence to yield to this repugnance, and early in the present year he informed the senate that he had named new ambassadors-plenipotentiary to treat with France, who were not, however, to embark for Europe till assurances were given that they should be received in the characters, and enjoy the privileges, of public ministers; and till a minister or ministers should be appointed with equal powers to treat with them. The directory, who, notwithstanding what they styled "the irritating and hostile measures of the president," had made repeated advances towards a reconciliation*, having complied with these conditions, the American ambassadors landed immediately after the events of the 18th Brumaire, and met with a very courteous reception from the new government.

Death of general Washington.

In the succeeding month of December (1799) America sustained an irreparable loss in the death of the venerable Washington, to whose memory, as to that of the friend, the father, and the defender of his country, the greatest public honors were justly paid. This celebrated per-

* Vide M. Talleyrand's letter to Pichon, laid before the senate of the UNITED STATES, February 1799.

sonage cannot, perhaps, be classed among the men of superior genius, or of very splendid talents. Yet it must be allowed that he combined in his own character an assemblage of qualities, moral and intellectual, which are rarely found in the same person; and these he possessed without the alloy of any considerable imperfection or defect. To an inflexible integrity, a pure and philosophical disinterestedness, he added the most perfect self-government, the most invincible constancy, and determined perseverance. The characteristic of his understanding was rectitude, no less than of his heart. He had a clear and extensive discernment of men and things; but, far from being pertinaciously attached to his own opinions, he paid rather too much than too little deference to those of others. As a commander, he was actuated by a high sense of honor, and manifested, on many occasions, great personal courage. His talents seemed rather adapted to defensive than offensive war; and he was distinguished in the field by vigilance, fortitude, secrecy, more than by great reach of penetration or ardor of enterprise. In this respect, as well as in all others, he was peculiarly fortunate—that his situation corresponded perfectly both with his intellectual and moral endowments, and exhibited them in the most conspicuous

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point of view. In the character of that man, collectively considered, there must have been something transcendently great and noble, to whom, under the pressure of the most alarming difficulties and dangers, all America looked up, as to the guardian and protector of his country. On his wisdom and on his valor, they relied with confidence for safety. Never, in any age or nation, was a trust so great, so entire, so universal, placed in any individual; and, never did any individual more completely satisfy the lofty and sanguine expectations which had been previously formed of him.

An affair, trivial in its nature, but disagreeable in its consequences, occurred at this period, which must not be passed over in total silence. Two very conspicuous characters in the late Irish rebellion, Tandy and Blackwell, who held regular commissions in the French service, having been shipwrecked on the coast of Norway, were, in their way to France, detained at Hamburg, by order of the magistracy, at the instance of the English resident. The arrest and consequent imprisonment of these individuals occasioned frequent reclamations from the French government to the senate of Hamburg, which was thus placed in a very unpleasant dilemma, between the haughty and peremptory demands of the English court, seconded with violence by

Embarrassments of the senate of Hamburg.

that of Petersburg, on the one hand, and the urgent remonstrances of the French directory on the other. At length the senate resolved to deliver them up to the English resident—possibly on some secret assurance of personal safety to the prisoners, who were not prosecuted to extremity for the crime of which they had been guilty. Exasperated at this step, the French government passed a decree, declaring it to be a violation of the law of nations; ordering the agents of France immediately to quit the city of Hamburg, and laying an embargo on the vessels of the Hamburgers in the ports of the republic. The senate, trembling with apprehension, addressed an apologetic letter to the chief consul, stating the circumstances which compelled them to this fatal necessity. This probably had its effect; but the government of France could not avowedly admit any excuse from that of Hamburg, for so gross a departure from its neutrality. "We have received, gentlemen," said the first consul, "your letter. It does not justify you. Courage and virtue are the preservers of states; cowardice and vice, their ruin. You have violated hospitality. This never happened among the most barbarous hordes of the desert. Your fellow-citizens will for ever reproach you." No marks of serious resentment, however, followed,

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and the anger of the French government was insensibly appeased.

Haughty conduct of the emperor Paul.

The imperial court of St. Petersburg had, since the accession of the emperor Paul, displayed its passionate detestation of the French republic in every possible mode. Thinking that the government of Denmark had given too much encouragement to the diffusion of French principles, he issued an *ukase* for all Danish vessels to quit immediately the Russian ports: but the further indications of his anger were prevented by the appearance of a royal ordonnance at Copenhagen, denouncing jacobinism, and proscribing, with the utmost severity *of language*, its doctrines and adherents. Sweden was still more compliant; and, on the requisition of the emperor, acceded, by her public declaration at least, to the new coalition formed against France.

The court of Madrid, however, set equally at nought the remonstrances and the threats of the Northern despot; on which a manifesto was published, bearing date 15th of July (1799), by the court of Russia, distinguished by all that pride, passion, and folly, which, from the commencement of his reign, had marked the character of this "magnanimous ally" of Britain.*

* This was the fashionable phraseology of the times. The KING himself had adopted it in his speech at the commence-

"Fruitless have been all our efforts," says his czarish majesty, "to reconduct that power into the true path of honor and glory, and to unite

ment of the last session of parliament: and, towards the close of it, Mr. Pitt (the house of commons being in a committee of supply, June 7, 1799,) used the following choice and courtly language: "There is no reason, no ground, to fear that this *magnanimous prince* will act with infidelity in a cause in which he is so sincerely engaged; and which he knows to be the cause of all good government, of religion, and humanity, against a monstrous medley of tyranny, injustice, vanity, irreligion, ignorance, and folly. Of such an ally there can be no reason to be jealous. Does it not promise the DELIVERANCE of EUROPE, when we find the confederate armies rapidly advancing in a career of victory the most brilliant and auspicious?"—"Will it be regarded with apathy, that the exalted prince who now, *fortunately for the world*, sways the Russian sceptre, has already, by his promptness and decision, given a turn to the affairs of men?"—Nearly at this period, John Parry proprietor, John Vint printer, and George Ross publisher, of the daily paper called the COURIER, received judgment of fine and imprisonment in the King's Bench—the first for six months, and to find security for his good behaviour for five years; and the two latter for one month each—for a certain *libellous* paragraph on the said emperor, inserted in the said paper—stating the emperor of Russia to be a tyrant among his own subjects, and ridiculous to the rest of Europe. It was not pretended that count Woronzoff, the Russian ambassador at the court of London, had made any complaint whatever of this *libel*. That truly respectable personage knew too well the genius of the English press, and of the English nation, to think such a matter worthy of notice. But lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign

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The emperor Paul's manifesto against Spain.

with us. We declare war against the king of Spain, and we consequently give orders for sequestrating and confiscating all the Spanish merchant-ships which are at present in our ports." The answer of the court of Madrid was spirited and proper. His catholic majesty declared, that "the alliance which he had formed with the French republic, and which had excited the jealousy of certain powers, he should always endeavour to maintain;—that the object of the coalition, newly formed, was less the chimerical and apparent desire of re-establishing order than of introducing confusion, by domineering over such nations as did not enter into its ambitious views;—that Russia had been most forward in the exercise of this domination, its emperor having usurped titles that no way belonged to him;—that the king of Spain would not stoop to notice the incoherent and insolent language of the Russian manifesto, but that he

affairs, acknowledged, and even boasted, in the house of peers, that he alone had directed this prosecution; of which he claimed all the merit and all the responsibility. The *delinquents*, in consequence of a suggestion liberally thrown out in the course of his speech by the attorney-general, who did not appear equally proud of the part which he was obliged to take in this affair, applied to the ambassador to interpose in their behalf; but the count properly answered that he could not interfere to stop the course of a prosecution instituted by the government of the country where he resided.

would continue to repel every aggression which presumption and a system of false combinations might direct against him."

The hatred of Paul against the French republic displayed itself, however, in other and less obnoxious acts. To the nominal sovereign of France, Louis XVIII, he gave a splendid asylum at Mittau, the capital of Courland; he received a number of French emigrant nobles into his service; and he extended his munificence to the dispersed and ejected knights of Malta. The members of this institution assembled at Petersburg, October 1798, took upon them to elect the emperor grand-master of the order; and he not only accepted the office, but immediately began to exercise the functions of it with great pomp and ostentation. Count Lotta, and prince Caprioli, the papal and Neapolitan envoys, were, among others, honored with the grand cross; and, to the ancient laws of the order, his czarish majesty added many new regulations, suggested by his own fantastic caprice. Early in the present year, the emperor notified in form to the respective courts of Europe that he had accepted the title of grand-master of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem; and directions were given to the ministers of government not to receive any letters

The emperor Paul assumes the title of grand-master of St. John of Jerusalem.

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addressed to his imperial majesty in which this title should be omitted.

It had long been known to all Europe, that Isabella, queen of Portugal, had, for many years, been wholly incapable of exercising any of the duties or functions of government; and, in the month of July, in the present year, the prince of Brasil published a decree, declaring himself prince-regent, and ordering all acts and ordonnances of state to be made out in his own name; "on account," as the edict tenderly expresses it, "of the melancholy, verified, and notorious, infirmity, with which, for seven years, the queen his mother had been afflicted, and which, in common language, would be considered an insanity."

Prince of Brasil declares himself regent of Portugal.

In order to complete the history of this ever-memorable year, it now remains only to exhibit a succinct view of those transactions which, in the course of it, had taken place in India, and which will be found to have a close connexion with the celebrated expedition into Egypt.

Transactions in India.

Ever since the peace of Seringapatam, A.D. 1792, dictated by lord Cornwallis, after a glorious and decisive war, Tippoo Sultaun, instead of endeavouring to reconcile his mind to the condition of his circumstances, harbored in secret a violent animosity against the English; and cherished the most delusive hopes and dangerous

projects of reinstating himself in his former greatness, and of being ultimately revenged on those who had caused him to suffer such cruel injuries and mortifications.

In the summer of 1796, the suspicions, designs, and military preparations, of Tippoo Sultaun, obliged the government of Madras to assemble, at a great expense, an army of observation in the Carnatic, which rendered it also impracticable to extend, so far as was intended, the operations of the company against the European enemies of Great Britain in Asia. Early in the year 1797, it appears that the sultaun had required and received the official written opinions of all his ministers on the best practicable mode of introducing a French army into the Deccan, and driving the English out of India; and a disguised embassy was soon after sent to general Malartic, governor of the Mauritius, under the pretence of a mercantile adventure.* Hussein Ali, one of these ambassadors, in his narrative of their proceedings, dated December 1797, relates that the governor was addressed by them to the following effect:—"What do you wait for? His majesty is ready to afford you succours. Show yourselves in India. The unbounded violence and oppression of the English have rendered all

Tippoo Sultaun's intrigues with the French at Mauritius.

* Vide WOOD'S Review of the War in MYSORE, and PAPERS annexed passim.

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the princes of India their enemies: they are enfeebled on every side; and, from the great extent of territory which they have acquired by artifice, they are dispersed in all quarters. Look upon the present time as a most fortunate opportunity. Send a large army, and an extensive train of artillery, to the assistance of our sovereign, and, effectually chastising our mutual enemies, drive them out of India. It is well known to the French republic, that both his late majesty and our present sovereign have at all times been the friends and well-wishers of the French nation."

These overtures were received, as may easily be supposed, with great complacency; but, what appears very surprising is, that secrecy on the part of the French government was altogether despised or neglected; insomuch, that, even during the residence at Mauritius of the Mysore ambassadors, who were, by their own sovereign, expressly prohibited from making their mission public, general Malartic did not hesitate to publish a proclamation (dated January 1798), in which he states openly and avowedly the wishes of the sultaun to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France, for the purpose of expelling the English from India: and stating that dispatches had been transmitted to the directory. He invites, in the mean time, all citizens of

France who may be disposed to serve as volunteers, to enrol themselves under the banners of Tippoo*; and an actual supply, though small, both of men and arms, was soon after sent to Mysore under the command of general Chapuy. The ambassadors had brought from Mysore a letter written by the sultaun to the French directory, whom he styles "the high and exalted, the magnificent and distinguished in station, the kind refuge of friends," &c.; in which he refers them to the explanations of the ambassadors; and, expressing his confident reliance on their ancient and cordial friendship, concludes with wishing, "that the garden of time may produce the fruits of their mutual wishes."

Earl of Mornington appointed governor-general of India.

On the arrival of the earl of Mornington, chief governor of India, and successor to sir John Shore, in the spring of 1798, at Calcutta,

* "Having communicated to them," say the instructions of the ambassadors, *i. e.* to the governor Malartic and the admiral Sercey, "your arrival, and heard what they have to say, you will tell them that they must by no means pay you the compliment of going themselves, or of sending persons to meet you, nor show open marks of friendship towards the Khoodadaud Sirkar," *i. e.* the Mysore kingdom; "nor outwardly show you any attentions; in order that your mission may not become public." Again: "You will also state, that, on account of the secresy of your mission, jewels and khelauts, &c. have not been sent on the part of the Khoodadaud Sirkar," &c.—WOOD'S REVIEW.

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he received the most indubitable evidence of the duplicity and insincerity of the sultaun; and in a very able minute, subsequently entered by the new governor in the journal of the secret department*, he states fully and satisfactorily the grounds of the resolution which he then adopted, to declare war against him. The governor asserts, "that Tippoo Sultaun has, since the conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam, received the most unequivocal proofs of the constant disposition of the company to acknowledge and confirm all his just rights, and to remove every cause of jealousy which might tend to interrupt the continuance of peace—although the servants of the company in India have not been ignorant of the implacable sentiments of revenge which he has preserved without abatement since the hour of his last defeat. Tippoo Sultaun," says the governor, "cannot allege even the pretext of a grievance to palliate the character of his recent acts. He has, indeed, alleged none, but has continually professed the most sincere desire to maintain the relations of peace and amity with the company. In his letters to sir John Shore, received at Fort-William, April 26, 1798, Tippoo declares that his friendly heart is disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice,

* August 12, 1798.

and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord established between the two states; and he signifies his desire, that sir John Shore would impress lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity subsisting between the two states. He having," as the governor-general remarks in conclusion, "prepared the means and instruments of a war of extermination against us, and of annihilating our empire, the present is not merely the case of an injury to be repaired, but of the public safety to be secured against the present and future designs of an irreconcilable, desperate, and treacherous, enemy."

Tippoo Sultaun's secret negotiations with the king of Candahar.

The intrigues of the sultaun against the English, as the governor-general appears from the tenor of his minute to have been well aware, had by no means been confined to the French nation. This prince had, even previous to the conclusion of the war terminated by the treaty of Seringapatam, carried on a correspondence, marked with the same hostile views, at the court of Zemaun Shah, sovereign of the rich and populous provinces of Candahar, Cabul, Cachemire, &c. in the north of India, lying to the west of the Indus, and extending eastward of the Attock, to the confines of the nation of the Seiks.—Ahmed Abdalla, ancestor of Zemaun Shah, was a warlike Afghan chief, who followed the fortunes of the famous Shah Nadir, emperor of Persia,

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in his invasion of Hindoostan, A.D. 1739. In the confusion which ensued on the assassination of Nadir Shah, he assumed the ensigns of royalty, dismembering both empires of some of their fairest provinces. During his reign, which lasted to the year 1773, he made no less than seven hostile incursions into Hindoostan; taking possession at one time of the imperial city of Delhi; and at another giving the united powers of the Mahratta empire a dreadful overthrow, at the great and bloody battle fought A.D. 1761 on the plains of Paniput. He was succeeded by his son Timur Shah; who died in the year 1792, and left his crown to his son Zemaun Shah, the reigning sovereign, who resided alternately at the cities of Candahar and Cabul. The revenues of this monarch are ample; his military establishment, consisting of 150,000 cavalry, besides a numerous infantry, very formidable; and both in court and camp he maintains great state and magnificence.

The restless and sanguine spirit of Tippoo Sultaun, which seems to have been little under the guidance of an enlightened or rational discernment, led him eagerly to court the alliance of this powerful but remote sovereign, and by every possible means to engage him to second his own secret projects of ambition and revenge. It appears, from the series of papers found in the

cabinet of the sultaun, and since made public, that Zemaun Shah was strongly solicited by him, and at length prevailed upon, to undertake an expedition to Delhi, in order to depose the old and wretched emperor Shah Allum, who had been reduced to a state of absolute dependency upon the Mahrattas, by whose jealous and barbarous policy he had been inhumanly deprived of his sight, though this helpless and miserable representative of the illustrious house of Timur pathetically implored "that his eyes, which he had for so many years past employed only in reading the sacred Koran, might for the short remainder of his life be spared to him."

When Zemaun Shah had established his power at Delhi, in which imperial city he set up a new emperor, or shadow of an emperor, of the house of Timur, he was further solicited by Tippoo Sultaun to advance into the Deccan, where the sovereign of Mysore would join him with all his forces, in order "to exterminate the infidels."—"Thanks to God," says the sultaun, in a letter written with his own hand to the king of Candahar, "that at this happy time I have the satisfaction to hear that your majesty, the ornament of the throne, the promoter of religion, the destroyer of heretics and oppressors, &c. employs your whole time and exerts every faculty in support of the enlightened religion, and is wholly de-

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voted to its cause. In return for this, a hundred thousand of the followers of the faith assemble every Friday in the mosques of the capital, and, after the prescribed forms of prayer, supplicate the Bestower of all things according to the words of scripture—'Grant thy aid, O God, to those who aid the religion of Mohummud, and let us be of that number at the last day.—Destroy those, O God, who would destroy the religion of Mohummud, and let us *not* be of that number at the last day.' Your majesty must doubtless have been informed that my exalted ambition has for its object a holy war."

By a subsequent letter to the vizier Gauffer Khan, it appears that these advances had been favorably received. "You wrote," says the sultaun of Mysore, "that you had availed yourself of a proper opportunity to represent my circumstances in the fullest manner to his majesty, and that his majesty had been pleased to signify in reply, that, when the victorious standard should be displayed in the direction of Hindoostan, it was his majesty's design to honor me with marks of his boundless favor, and to promote the important objects in view. The pen is incapable of describing my gratitude for this. To cement the foundations of friendship and attachment, two persons, true syuds by birth, who are among the highest in rank of the ser-

vants of the Khoodadaud Sikar*, are now departed with a letter calculated to inspire friendship, addressed to his majesty, the protector of the faith, Zemaun Shah."

In another letter, dated 7th Shabaun, 1211 Hejira, or 5th February, 1797, the sultaun of Mysore says to the king of Candahar, in terms still more explicit than the former—"By the favor of God, your majesty, the ornament of the throne of power and greatness, has for the most part occupied your time in extending the dominion of the Prophet, in destroying the foundation of heresy and infidelity, and in establishing the basis of the true faith, and continues so to do. The fame of this has amply pervaded the world. These circumstances, which are as well known from east to west as the sun in the centre of the heavens, suggested to my mind that, agreeably to the command of God and his apostles, declared in these words—'Slay the divisor of the god-head'—we should unite in carrying on a holy war against the infidels, and free the region of Hindoostan from the contamination of the enemies of our religion. The followers of the faith in these territories, always

* *Khoodadaud Sirkar*, literally translated, is the "Country given of God."—Such was the appellation which the sultaun affected to bestow on that part of his empire which remained to him after the treaty of Seringapatam.

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assembling at a select time (on Fridays), offer up their prayers in the words—'O God, slay the infidels who have closed thy way! Let their sins return upon their own heads, with the punishment which is due to them!—I trust that Almighty God, for the sake of his beloved, will accept their prayers; and, through the merits of a holy cause, prosper our mutual exertions to that end. May the sun of dignity and splendor rise from the horison of success and glory!"

In a succeeding letter to the vizier Wuffadar Khan, he declares "the extreme satisfaction he felt at the determination of the Shah to proceed to Delhi. The sum of my wishes is," says he, "that, his majesty uniting with me, we should proceed to chastise those abandoned infidels, and not to suffer our present dominion to depart from our hands." He expresses his hope, "that, through the divine goodness, the chief of the infidels will be consumed and confounded by the avenging fire of divine vengeance; and he feelingly laments the "faded splendor of the faith throughout India."

In the same spirit, the king of Candahar wrote with his own hand to the sultaun of Mysore as follows:—"As the object of your well-directed mind is the destruction of the infidels, and the extension of the faith of the Prophet, if it please God, we shall soon march with our

conquering armies to wage war with the infidels and polytheists, and to free those regions from the contamination of those shameless tribes with the edge of the sword, so that the inhabitants of these regions may be restored to comfort and repose. Be therefore perfectly satisfied in this respect." It is remarkable, that, amid the reiterated denunciations of Tippoo Sultaun to the court of Candahar against the infidels, and his declarations of vengeance and extermination, no distinction whatever is made between the English and the French; and there can be no rational ground to doubt that his schemes of destruction ultimately comprehended both; purposing, agreeably to the well-known treachery of his disposition, to make the latter, in quality of his friends and allies, the unsuspecting instruments of their own ruin, by assisting first to effect that of their antagonists and rivals. Neither can it escape the observation of the intelligent investigator, that the correspondence, mediate or immediate, of the sultaun of the Mysore with the French government, is replete with artifice and dissimulation, but discovers no traces of a truly penetrating or comprehensive mind.

Tippoo Sultaun's secret negotiations with the French directory.

In a letter to the executive directory, dated from Seringapatam, April 2d, 1797, he announces his intention to nominate ambassadors in order to testify to the government of France his friend-

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ship, and to renew the alliance anciently subsisting between them. "In the writing which I send to you," says he, "you will perceive my attachment, my disposition, and the sentiments of my heart, for your nation, which I have always loved. Study the welfare of my country, as I study that of yours." In a dispatch of the same date, addressed to the representatives of the people residing in the Isles of France and Bourbon, he declares that "he has done all in his power, since the commencement of their revolution to make known to them the sentiments of his heart. I perceive," thus he expresses himself, "it is now the moment for me to revive the friendship which I have always entertained for your nation: I acknowledge the sublimity of your constitution; and, as a proof of my sincerity, I propose to your nation and to you a treaty of alliance and fraternity, which shall be for ever indissoluble, and shall be founded on republican principles of sincerity and good faith. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India; the springs which I have touched, have put all India in motion."

Tippoo Sultaun's secret negotiations at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad.

It must be remarked, that the sultaun, exclusive of the powerful succours he expected from Candahar, relied much, though upon slender grounds, on the effect of his intrigues and machinations at the two courts of Poonah and Hy-

derabad. In a dispatch, dated April 21, 1797, to general Mengalon, commander of the French land forces at the Mauritius, he informs the general "that the nizam is very ill, and that his great age leaves no hopes of recovery; that the nizam has a son much attached to the sultaun, who is expected to succeed; that Mada Row, the great support of the English interest at Poonah, is dead; and that a civil war is kindled in the Mahratta states.* He exultingly relates the triumphs of Zemaun Shah, who had in the preceding year advanced as far as Lahore, and who was at this time in possession of Delhi, in the vicinity of which city he had attacked and completely defeated the army of the Mahrattas. "This," says the sultaun, "is the act of Providence. The nabob Asoph ul Dowla," also, he relates, "having heard of the arrival of Zemaun Shah at Delhi, commenced hostilities against the English, and with some advantage. On the coast of Coromandel," says the sultaun, "from Masulipatam to Madras and Arcot, their tyranny has excited revolt among all the princes, powerful and weak, who all assert their rights. I inform

* Madejee Scindia died May 1794, and was succeeded by Dowlut Rao Scindia, his nephew and adopted son. It appears that Tippoo Saib had carried on intrigues in the country of the Nizam, with a view to excite a revolt of the European troops, in the pay of the court of Hyderabad.

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you of these events, in order to prove to you, that it is now the moment for you to invade India: with little trouble we shall drive them out—rely on my friendship."

But, on the other hand, in a letter addressed to the ambassadors of Mysore at the Mauritius, dated February 27, 1798, the governor, general Malartic, expresses, in strong terms, his suspicions of the duplicity of the sultaun; and he declares, "that the officers and volunteers who are to accompany the ambassadors to India, shall not make a journey of five hundred leagues to ascertain what pay Tippoo Sultaun may choose to fix for them." And he says, "that he shall order them not to disembark, until Tippoo Sultaun shall have satisfied them on this point." The same governor, in a dispatch to the sultaun dated the 7th of March following, thought it expedient thus to practise upon his vanity:—"Write to all the princes of Hindoostan, and tell them that the time is come to rid yourselves of your common enemy. Your courage, and the resources of your genius, are known to me: both will every where attend the son of the great Hyder Ali Kahn; you are destined to surpass even his fame."

Matters were now ripening to a crisis, and the dissimulation of the sultaun was carried to

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Tippoo Sultaun's deceitful professions of friendship to the English government.

an extraordinary length. In a letter written to the governor-general, lord Mornington, July the 18th, 1798, he says, "By the favor of God, the bonds of friendship and union are firmly drawn between the two states; and I am to the last degree disposed to give additional strength to the beneficial system of amity and peace." The reply of the governor, who would not entirely relinquish the hope of gaining Tippoo by a display of kindness and confidence, is liberal and politic: he declares, "that the sultaun's letter had given him great satisfaction;" and at the same time informs him, "that a long disputed claim respecting the sultaun's right to the district of Wynaad, had been determined in his favor."

On the 20th July, two days only subsequent to his friendly letter to the earl of Mornington, the sultaun, being then at his palace of Seringapatam, signed a dispatch to the executive directory, containing also the strongest professions of friendship and attachment, which, to use his own words, "should endure as long as the sun and moon shine in the heavens; and which shall be so solid, that the most extraordinary events shall neither break nor disunite them." He then states, that he had sent to them ambassadors fully authorised to represent him, and to make proposals in his name to the

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French government; and he concludes with saying, "May the heavens and the earth meet and unite, rather than the alliance of the two nations shall suffer the smallest alteration!" The plan of the alliance is subjoined, in which the sultaun proposes that the directory shall send to his assistance ten or fifteen thousand troops, and a naval force, which he will undertake to provide with all necessaries. He desires that the disembarkation of the troops may take place at some port on the Coromandel coast, where the sultaun will join them with his whole army; it being his intention to commence operations in the heart of the enemy's country. All the conquests which may be made from the enemy, excepting those which the sultaun had been obliged to cede by the treaty of 1792, shall be equally divided between the two nations—the same division shall also be made of the Portuguese colonies.

Discreet conduct of lord Mornington.

The governor-general, lord Mornington, in his elaborate minute of the 12th August, states, "that, since the conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam, the British governments in India have uniformly conducted themselves towards Tippoo Sultaun, not only with the most exact attention to the principles of moderation, justice, and good faith, but have endeavoured, by every practicable means, to conciliate his confidence, and to mitigate his vindictive spirit." This, in-

deed, appears to have been strictly true; and no less might be expected from the equitable and conciliatory spirit of sir John Shore's administration. And it must be acknowledged that the new governor-general discovered great solicitude to regulate all his proceedings conformably to the same general plan of policy. Even after the designs of Tippoo had become too public to admit of doubt, the efforts of lord Mornington to induce him to abandon them, and to revert to his former relations of peace and amity with Great Britain, were not remitted; and, at the same time, the requisite measures both of precaution and firmness were adopted, to give efficacy to the final determination. "If," says his lordship, "the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun had been of a nature which could be termed ambiguous or suspicious, it might be our duty to resort, in the first instance, to his constructions of proceedings, which, being of a doubtful character, might admit of a satisfactory explanation; but where there is no doubt, there can be no matter for explanation. The act of Tippoo's ambassadors, ratified by himself, and accompanied by the landing of a French force in his country, is a public, unqualified, and unambiguous, declaration of war; aggravated by an avowal that the object of the war is neither explanation, reparation, nor security, but the

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The company's forges assemble at Vellore.

total destruction of the British government in India."

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, the governor-general transmitted secret orders to the presidency of Madras, for assembling the forces of the company at Vellore; and that, government making strong representations respecting the difficulties attending the execution of the order, his lordship not only prohibited all future discussion of its policy, but, for the purpose of hastening the necessary preparations, he repaired in person to the city of Madras. Previous to his departure from Bengal, he wrote (November 4) a letter to the sultaun, informing him of the invasion of Egypt by the French, in contempt of the treaties subsisting between France and the Sublime Porte; and apprising him, at the same time, of the great and decisive naval victory of Aboukir, "which," his lordship says, "is to be ascribed to the justice of the British cause, and to the aid of divine Providence* !" And he infers, that, all communication being thus cut off between Egypt and Europe, the French troops which have landed there must perish either by

* To what, then, were Bonaparte's victories on land to be ascribed? It is wonderful that the ceaseless vicissitude of human affairs should not long ago have demonstrated to men of understanding, the gross impropriety of these presumptuous boasts.

famine or the sword. "Confident," says his lordship, "from the union and attachment subsisting between us, that this intelligence will afford you sincere satisfaction, I could not deny myself the pleasure of communicating it."

The governor-general's energetic remonstrance to Tippoo Sultaun.

But, disdaining longer to wear the mask of friendship, on the 8th of November the governor-general wrote again, and in a style of great displeasure:—"In no age or country," says his lordship, "were the baneful and insidious arts of intrigue ever cultivated with such success, as they are at present by the French nation. I sincerely wish that no impression had been produced on your discerning mind by that dangerous people; but my situation enables me to know that they have reached your presence, and have endeavoured to pervert the wisdom of your councils, and to instigate you to war against those who have given you no provocation. It is impossible that you should suppose me to be ignorant of the intercourse which subsists between you and the French, whom you know to be the inveterate enemies of the company, and to be now engaged in an unjust war with the British nation. You cannot imagine me to be indifferent to the transactions which have passed between you and the enemies of my country; nor does it appear necessary or proper that I should any longer conceal from you the surprise and concern with

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which I perceived you disposed to involve yourself in all the ruinous consequences of a connexion, which threatens not only to subvert the foundations of friendship between you and the company, but to introduce into the heart of your kingdom the principles of anarchy and confusion, to shake your own authority, to weaken the obedience of your subjects, and to destroy the religion which you revere. Whatever my reluctance to credit such reports might be, prudence required both of me and of the company's allies, that we should adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence; and these have accordingly been taken, as you will, no doubt, have observed. The British government and the allies wishing, nevertheless, to live in peace and friendship with all their neighbours; entertaining no projects of ambition, nor any views in the least incompatible with their respective engagements; and looking to no other objects than the permanent security and tranquillity of their own dominions and subjects; will always be ready, as they now are, to afford you every demonstration of these pacific sentiments." The governor-general concludes this judicious letter with informing the sultaun, "that the peshwa and the nizam concur with him in the observations now offered and recommended to his most serious consideration; and he

proposes, in their behalf and his own, to send major Doveton (an officer well known to the sultaun), to explain more fully and particularly the means of removing all existing distrust and suspicion, and of establishing peace and a good understanding on the most durable foundations." The governor-general declares his expectation of "a speedy answer to this letter, with an earnest hope that it may correspond with the pacific views and wishes of the company."

No answer arriving from the sultaun for more than a month, lord Mornington addressed to him (December 10), being then on the eve of his departure for Madras, a second letter, in which, in concise terms, he again urges the propriety and necessity of taking the contents of his former one into his earliest and most serious consideration. On the 15th of December a dispatch from the sultaun reached Calcutta, filled with the most treacherous professions of attachment, and complaints of the military preparations reported to be made by the English: and, after another long interval, an answer (dated December 18) to the two letters of November was received, in which this faithless prince congratulates the governor-general on the glorious victory of Aboukir; and expresses his firm hope, "that the English, who ever adhere to the paths of sincerity, friendship, and good faith, and are

Systematic dissimulation of the sultaun.

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the well-wishers of mankind, will at all times be successful and victorious; and that the French, who are of a crooked disposition, faithless, and the enemies of mankind, may be ever depressed and ruined." He positively denies that any secret correspondence was or ever had been carried on between him and the French; and says, that "the French, who are full of vice and deceit, have perhaps put about reports with a view to ruffle the minds of both sirkars." He expresses his surprise at the military preparations avowedly made by the governor-general, but declines to receive major Doveton, declaring "that no means more effectual than the engagements already entered into, can be adopted for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony." This letter was received by lord Mornington at Madras, whence his lordship returned an immediate reply (January 9, 1799,) to the sultaun, informing him in very full and explicit terms of the accurate advices which he had received of his most secret transactions with the French, and of his flagrant violations of the subsisting treaties. "Even under all these circumstances of provocation," says his lordship, with laudable moderation, "we are ready to renew and confirm the bonds of amity on such conditions as shall preclude the continuance of those jealousies which must subsist so long as a

final and satisfactory adjustment of all the causes of suspicion shall be delayed." He again calls upon the sultaun, in the most serious and solemn manner, to assent to the immediate admission of major Doveton, as a measure which he is confident would be productive of the most lasting advantages to all parties—"Dangerous consequences," says his lordship, "result from the delay of arduous affairs." With this letter the governor-general enclosed a copy of the manifesto issued by the Ottoman Porte against the French; and in his subsequent dispatch of Jan. 16, he transmitted to the sultaun a letter addressed to that monarch by the grand seignor, sultaun Selim, delivered, as the governor-general informs the king of Mysore, by order of his sublime highness, to the British minister resident at Constantinople, by whom it was forwarded to the presidency of Bombay, and thence to lord Clive, governor of Madras. This letter, dated September 20, and written doubtless at the instigation, if not by the pen, of the British resident, was filled with violent and common-place declamation against the French; although well calculated to impress the mind of the sultaun of Mysore, had it not been callous to *all* impression, of the extreme danger which he incurred by persevering in his present system of policy. The

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Turkish emperor concludes his epistle in the following words:—"We make it our especial request, that your majesty will please to refrain from entering into any measures against the English, or lending any compliant ear to the French. Should there exist any subject of complaint with the former, please to communicate it, certain as you may be of the employment of every good office on our side to compromise the same. We wish to see the connexion above alluded to exchanged in favor of Great Britain. We confidently expect, that, upon consideration of all that is stated in this communication, and of the necessity of assisting your brethren Mussulmans in this general cause of religion, as well as of co-operating towards the above precious province (*i. e.* Egypt) being delivered from the hands of the enemy, your majesty will employ every means which your natural zeal will point out, to assist the common cause; and to corroborate, by that means, the ancient good understanding so happily existing between our empires."

After waiting with exemplary patience twenty-five days for an answer to the important dispatch of Jan. the 9th, the governor-general at length, on the 3d of February, ordered the army to begin its march towards the Mysorean territory. The reply of Tippoo Sultaun was received at

Madras the 13th of February. It contained the usual professions of attachment, and acknowledged, with great ostentation of reverence, the receipt of the letter addressed to him by the grand seignor, whom he styles "the luminary giving splendor to the firmament of glory and power." He now also declared himself (though in cold and distant terms) *willing* to admit of major Doveton's embassy, but desires "that he may come *unattended.*"

Soon after this, the sultaun being, as it should seem, determined to carry to the utmost height and to prolong to the very last moment his characteristic dissimulation, enclosed to the governor-general a pretended answer, bearing date 10th Ramzan (16th of February, 1799), to the letter received by him from the grand seignor, desiring that it might be forwarded to Constantinople. This answer, addressed to "The EXALTED PRESENCE, the BRIGHT PLANET of the EMPYREUM of GLORY, the BLOOM of the BOWER of GREATNESS," &c. &c. was couched in concise and general terms, denying any misunderstanding between himself and the English, and declaring, "that, as the French nation are estranged from, and are become the opponents of, the SUBLIME PORTE, they had rendered themselves the enemies of all the followers of the faith." At the same time this perfidious monarch transmitted to

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The sultaun attempts to excite the Ottoman Porte against the English.

Constantinople, by a more speedy and direct conveyance, the true answer; which was no other than a most virulent and furious invective against ALL the EUROPEANS in India, and comprising a summary of their transactions in Hindoostan, from their first settlement on that continent, to the present time, heightened occasionally by the most false and *needless* exaggerations. He expresses his hope "that the religion of Islaum will obtain exclusive prevalence over the whole country of Hindoostan; and that ALL the sinful heretics will, with the utmost ease, become the prey of the swords of the combatants in the cause of religion."—"Be it known to those," says the sovereign of Mysore, "who stand at the foot of the imperial throne, that the treachery, deceit, and supremacy, of the Christians in the regions of Hindoostan, are beyond the power of expression." After finishing his historic elucidations, he goes on to say, "that the English, having adopted a determined resolution to subdue the whole of Hindoostan, and to subvert the Mussulman religion; and having united to themselves nizam Ali Khan, and the infidels of Poonah; have for five years past been devising the means: accordingly, they have lately written in plain and undisguised terms *that it is their intention to destroy the religion of Islaum*—'Evil designs return upon the heads of the inventors.' The in-

fidels of Poonah, in consequence of the disagreements prevailing among the ministers at Delhi, have subverted that country, and, having destroyed its houses, have erected their own temples upon its ruins. They have possessed themselves entirely of that kingdom, whilst a poor sightless individual of the royal house of Timur, whose servants put out his eyes, is seated in his palace in a state the most abject; the resources of his maintenance are fixed from the sale of the fruits of his gardens. The respected and accomplished syuds, syud Ali Mohummud, and syud Modauroo-deen, are now nominated and deputed with this friendly letter, to represent various points of great importance, and to communicate the sentiments of my mind; and with instructions to remain in attendance on your majesty during three years—I trust that they will be honored by admission to your highness's presence. May the victorious banners of Islaum be ever prevalent, and every trace of heresy and infidels be wiped away!"

About the same period, the sultaun of Mysore wrote once more to the king of Candahar, expressing "the boundless satisfaction which he had received from the determination of that powerful sovereign to prosecute a holy war against the infidels, and destroy the profanation of polytheism by the exertions of the relentless

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sword. At this time," says he, "the English, having received intimation of the arrival of the ambassadors of the sirkar at your highness's court, and of the firm connexion established between the two states, have taken umbrage, and, in concert with the infidels and the turbulent, have taken up arms against me; *and they have written, that they entertain the design to subvert the religion of Islaum:*—'Many are the words that proceed from their lips, but their words are nought but lies.' If it please GOD, they shall become food for the unrelenting swords of the pious warriors*."

The governor-general declares war against the sultaun of Mysore.

On the 22d of February, the governor-general published a declaration, very ably recapitulating the reasons which compelled him to engage in hostilities with the sultaun of Mysore. It states, "that the governor-general waited with the utmost solicitude for an answer to the reasonable

* The assertion in each of the above letters, "that the English have written in express terms that they entertain the design of subverting the religion of Islaum," appears at first sight to be a direct falsity; but, according to the testimony of Hubbeeb Oollah, head moonshee to the sultaun, it was merely an inference (a most preposterous and malicious one indeed) from that expression in lord Mornington's dispatch of November the 8th, in which the governor-general declares "that the alliance of France threatens, in its consequences, to destroy the religion which he (Tippoo) revered"—the sultaun no doubt supposing that the friendship of France did not threaten worse consequences than the enmity of England.

and distinct proposition contained in his letter of the 9th of January; that the sultaun, however, remained silent, although apprised that dangerous consequences would result from delay. In the mean while, the season for military operations had already advanced to so late a period, as to render a speedy decision indispensable to the security of the allies. It must be evident to all the states of India, that the answer of the sultaun has been deferred to this late period of the season with no other view than to preclude the allies from the benefit of those advantages which their combined military operations would enable them to secure. The allies are therefore resolved to place their army in such a position as shall afford adequate protection against any artifice or insincerity, and shall preclude the return of that danger which has so lately menaced their possessions. Retaining, however, an anxious desire to effect an adjustment with Tippoo Sultaun, lieutenant-general Harris, commander-in-chief of his majesty's and the honorable company's forces on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, is authorised to receive any embassy which Tippoo Sultaun may dispatch to the head-quarters of the British army, and to concert a treaty on such conditions as appear to the allies to be indispensably necessary for the establishment of a secure and permanent peace."

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A very fine and well-appointed army was now, through the indefatigable exertions of the governor-general, seconded by the efforts of the civil and military departments, not only formed, but put in motion. This army was commanded by officers of great courage, skill, and experience; and, being in a short time joined by the troops of the nizam, they marched forward in full confidence of success. But, while general Harris approached the eastern frontier of Mysore, the sultaun had himself commenced hostilities on the western side, by the attack (March 6) of general Stuart, who commanded the Bombay army, while yet in the territory of the peshwa, and encamped on the high mountain of Sedaseer. Upon this occasion the sultaun received a severe repulse, and, on being informed that general Harris, with the grand army, had entered Mysore, he forthwith returned to the defence of his own country.

By this time the allies had penetrated as far as Bangalore. On the 23d, as the British commander approached Sultaun-pettah, a cloud of dust to the westward announced the vicinity of the Mysorean army; retiring, as the allies marched forward, the enemy attained on the 27th the heights of Malavelly, from which they were on the same day driven with considerable loss. On the 3d of April, the army came within

Successes of the English army.

sight of the lofty towers of Seringapatam, having hitherto experienced, to the general surprise, a resistance altogether trivial. By reports from the sultaun's camp, it was understood that he was extremely dejected and undetermined; and that his plans of defence had been as suddenly abandoned, as they were hastily formed. On the 5th, the British army encamped at the distance of 3500 yards from the western fort of the city, which was soon after completely invested. Till this period the sultaun had shown no disposition to submit to terms; still, in all probability, cherishing the delusive hope that powerful succours from France would arrive in time to rescue him from this humiliation. General Bonaparte had, in the month of January, attempted to transmit a letter to the sultaun, through the intervention of the cherif of Mecca, from Cairo: "You have," said the general, "already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mecca, as to your political situation: I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or to Cairo, possessing your confidence,

Investment of Seringapatam.

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with whom I may confer.—May the Almighty increase your power, and destroy your enemies!"

Whether this letter or any duplicate of it ever reached the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, is not perfectly clear; but it was impossible that the monarch of Mysore could be ignorant that a great army of the French, ultimately destined for the conquest of the English possessions in the east, had established themselves in Egypt; and his policy was, to practise every species of evasion and procrastination until their arrival in India: but his hatred and passion did not permit him to dissemble well, and his artifices were much too gross to deceive the vigilance and penetration of the chief-governor. On the 9th of April, being now apparently alarmed at his situation, he had the effrontery to write in the following terms to the commander, general Harris:—"The governor-general, lord Mornington, sent me a letter, the copy of which is enclosed—you will understand it. I have adhered firmly to treaties: what, then, is the meaning of the advance of the English army, and the occurrence of hostilities? Inform me." In reply, the sultaun was properly referred to the previous letters of lord Mornington, and the declaration of war on the part of the allies.

On the 14th of April, the Bombay army under general Stuart crossed the Cavery, and took a strong position on its northern bank. That river,

which separated the camp from the fort of Seringapatam, was at this time almost dry, and its bed a naked rock. The armies of the allies having now forced a complete junction, and the enemy's advanced works beyond the river being taken, the sultaun made another attempt to arrest the progress of the siege by negotiation, and wrote a second letter to general Harris, desiring him to nominate commissioners, and open a conference for peace. In answer to this overture, were sent the preliminary articles of the only peace that would now be granted him. These were, to cede half his territories in perpetuity to the allies; to pay two crores of rupees by way of indemnification for the expences of the war; to renounce all connexion with France; to receive ambassadors from the allies; and give hostages for the performance of these stipulations. Such were the severe terms which the perverse obstinacy of the sultaun had now made it necessary for him to accept, or by the refusal to risk his life and crown. For some days he maintained a sullen silence; but, a vigorous sally of the garrison on general Stuart being repulsed, and the guns of two towers on the western side dismounted, the unfortunate sultaun, on the 28th, made another and last effort to retard the operations of the siege, by declaring, in reply to the notification of general Harris, "that he wished to send ambas-

The sultaun sues in vain for peace.

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sadors to open a conference for peace.—The points in question," said he, "are mighty, and cannot be brought to a conclusion without the intervention of ambassadors. I am, therefore, about to send two gentlemen who will personally explain themselves to you."

He was immediately informed, that no ambassadors would be now received, unless he sent a part, at least, of the specie demanded, and the hostages required for his sincerity. The sultaun, reduced to despair by this answer, seemed determined to bury himself under the ruins of his capital; and, as if to shut every avenue to future negotiation, he barbarously ordered the prisoners he had taken to be put to death*. The fire of the batteries, which began to batter in breach on the 30th of April, had on the evening of the 3d of May so much shattered the walls, that a general assault was deemed practicable. The troops were accordingly (early in the morning of the 4th) stationed in the trenches, that no extraordinary movement might occasion alarm; and, in order to take the enemy by surprise, it was determined to make the attempt in the heat of the day—the season of indolence and repose. At one o'clock the troops under general Baird moved from the trenches, and, crossing the rocky bed of the

Seringapatam taken by storm.

* Wood's Review, p. 24.—This extraordinary circumstance is not mentioned in general Harris's public dispatches.

Cavery, under a heavy fire from the stupendous works which defended this great and magnificent capital, passed the glacis and the fossé; then ascended the breaches with the most heroic gallantry, surmounting every obstacle which the valor of the enemy could oppose to their progress. In a short time all was confusion and consternation, and the British colors were displayed on the summit of the breach. Resistance continued, however, to be made from the palace of Tippoo for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, at length surrendered. It was at the same time reported that Tippoo Sultaun was slain. The most active measures were immediately adopted to put an end to the horrors of the assault, and diligent search was made for the body of the sultaun, which was with difficulty found, encompassed and almost covered with heaps of dead: it was conveyed to the palace, and, being recognised by the family, was the next day interred, with the honors due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father.

Heroic death of the sultaun.

Thus, after a short but brilliant career, fell the house or dynasty of the celebrated Hyder Ali Khan, of whose great and acknowledged talents, civil or military, his son and successor seemed to inherit but a slender portion. On the ensuing

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day, Kerim Saheb, the brother of the late sultaun; Abdul Khalic, the elder of the princes formerly hostages with lord Cornwallis; and, in a short time, the remainder of the family of Tippoo, surrendered themselves, and demanded protection.

Partition of the sultaun's dominions.

The dominions of the sultaun were disposed of in conformity to an arrangement soon after concluded upon by the conquerors. To the company were allotted the province of Canara, the districts of Coimbatore and Daraporam, with an extensive district extending along the Malabar coast, including Mangalore; also the fortress, city, and island, of Seringapatam;—to the nizam was assigned a large tract of country contiguous to his own dominions;—and to the Mahrattas, who had taken no active part in the war, were, by a liberal policy, given Soonda, Harponelly, and a portion of Bidenore—the fortresses belonging to the latter were, however, retained in the hands of the English, and a strong barrier opposed to the future incursions of that powerful and warlike people, extending from the eastern to the western Ghauts.

On a careful investigation it was found, that the surviving representative of the ancient royal Hindoo family of Mysore, expelled by the high fortune of Hyder Ali from the throne, was a boy of five years of age. To him it was deemed both

Ancient royal house of Mysore restored.

just and politic to restore the kingdom of Mysore, which was by the late partition comprised nearly within the same limits by which it was bounded previous to the usurpation of Hyder; and by an article of the treaty of Mysore, the dependency of that kingdom upon the British government was formally recognised, and the right of British interference distinctly acknowledged. Thus the interests of the infant rajah Kishennai Wuddiar, were said to be identified with those of Great Britain; and, at all events, such interference were better exercised openly and avowedly than in the way of clandestine and unauthorised coercion. The family of Tippoo Sultaun were in a short time removed to Vellore, in the Carnatic, and an annual revenue, amounting to about 600,000 rupees, was allowed for their future maintenance.

The governor-general, in his public congratulations to the commander-in-chief and to the allied army on these memorable events, declares "that they have surpassed the most sanguine expectations that were previously formed, and have raised the reputation of the British arms in India to a degree of splendor and glory unrivalled in the military history of this quarter of the globe;" and he adds, with great appearance of reason, "that the lustre of this victory can be equalled only by the substantial advantages which it promises to esta-

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blish, by restoring the peace and safety of the British possessions in India on a durable condition of genuine security." How far the general system of British government in India is consistent with the principles of universal justice, or even of national policy, are questions foreign to the purpose of the present narration; but it must unquestionably be allowed, that, upon those principles of policy, and even of safety, on which it was the duty of the governor-general to act, great merit is to be ascribed to him for the temper and moderation which he displayed in the earlier stages of this arduous business; and for his subsequent firmness and decision, when it clearly appeared that the former qualities were no longer in any degree available.

Death of Kien Long, emperor of China.

In the month of November (A. D. 1799) died the celebrated Kien Long, upwards of sixty-four years emperor of China, aged eighty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, Ka Hing, who had for some time past administered the government of the country. The virtues and talents of the late emperor had endeared him to all his subjects, who expressed extreme regret for his loss. The person of this great eastern monarch is described as graceful and majestic, and his deportment as equally dignified and affable: his countenance was regular and pleasing; and his general appear-

ance by no means indicated the extreme age to which he had attained. He is represented in the Narrative of the late Embassy to the Court of Pekin in picturesque colors, as usually wearing a robe of yellow silk, girded with a blue sash; a cap or turban of black velvet, with a red tassel and plume of peacocks' feathers; and boots embroidered with gold—a costume truly oriental, and which may vie with the stars, garters, and coronets, of European vanity. His grandfather, Kang-hi, whom he succeeded in 1735, had filled the throne of China during the long period of sixty-two years.

BOOK XXXIII.

SESSION of Parliament 1799-1800. *Bill for the further Reduction of the Militia—Unavailing Opposition to it in both Houses. Overture of the First Consul for Peace—Scornfully rejected by the English Government. Correspondence between M. Talleyrand and Lord Grenville laid before Parliament—Memorable Debate on the same. The Administration becomes unpopular. Motion of Mr. Sheridan relative to the Failure of the Expedition to Holland negatived. Enormous Supplies voted. Subsidy to the Emperor. Habeas-Corpus Act again suspended. Statement of the Affairs of India. Project of Union revived. Meeting of the Irish Parliament, January* 1800. *Eloquent Speech of Mr. Grattan. Message from the Lord-Lieutenant recommendatory of the Measure of a Union—Violent Debates on the Subject. Able Speech of the Lord-Chancellor. Resolutions of the Parliament of Great Britain successively adopted. Address to the King from the Parliament of Ireland, signifying their Assent to the Resolutions. Message from the King to the British Parliament, communicating the Contents of the Address—Proceedings and Debates of the two Houses thereupon. Act of Union finally passed. Act of Union ratified by the Irish Parliament. Military Operations on the Continent. Change of System at the Court of St. Petersburg. First Consul takes the Field in Person. Successes of General Moreau in Germany. General Massena takes the command in Italy—Besieged in Genoa by General Melas. Passage of the First Consul across the Great St. Bernard. His rapid and successive Triumphs—Takes Pos-*

session of Milan. Heroic Defence of General Massena. Evacuation of Genoa by the French. Decisive Battle of MARENGO. *Death of General Desaix. Armistice concluded between the French and the Austrians. Re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic. Arrival of the First Consul at Paris—Distinguished Honors paid to him. Further Successes of General Moreau in Germany. Armistice of Italy extended to Germany. Preliminary Articles of Peace signed at Paris between France and Austria—The Emperor refuses his Ratification. Negotiation for an Armistice between Great Britain and France. Continental Armistice prolonged. Convention of Hohenlinden. Blockade of Malta. Loss of the Queen Charlotte Man of War. Surrender of Goree to the English. Abortive Attempt on Ferrol. Extraordinary Vengeance inflicted on the Town of Ceseratico. Surrender of Malta. And of Curaçoa. Unsuccessful Attempt on Cadiz. Establishment of the Republic of the Seven Islands.*

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Session of parliament 1799-1800.

THE session of parliament opened so early as the 24th of September (1799). His majesty declared to the two houses "that he had called them together at that unusual season in order to recommend to them to consider of the propriety of enabling him, without delay, to avail himself to a further extent of the voluntary services of the militia at a moment when an increase of our active force abroad may be productive of the most important and beneficial consequences.—In the short interval," said his majesty, "since the close of the last session, our situation and prospects have, under the blessing of Providence,

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improved beyond the most sanguine expectation. The abilities and valor of the commanders and troops of the combined imperial armies have continued to be eminently displayed. The deliverance of Italy may now be considered as secured by the result of a campaign equal in splendor and success to any recorded in history. —The French expedition to Egypt has continued to be productive of calamity and disgrace to our enemies, while its ultimate views against our eastern possessions have been utterly confounded. The *desperate attempt* which they have lately made to extricate themselves from their difficulties, has been defeated by the courage of the Turkish forces, directed by the skill, and animated by the heroism, of a British officer, with a small portion of my naval force under his command; and the overthrow of that restless and perfidious power, who, instigated by the artifices and deluded by the promises of the French, had entered into their ambitious and destructive projects in India, has placed the British interests, in that quarter of the globe, in a state of solid and permanent security.—There is, I trust, every reason to expect that the effort which I am making for the deliverance of the United Provinces will prove successful. The British arms have rescued from the possession of the enemy the principal port and naval arsenal

of the Dutch republic; and, although we have to regret the loss of many brave men in a subsequent attack against the enemy, whose position enabled them to obstruct our progress, I have the strongest ground to expect that the skill of my generals and the determined resolution and intrepidity of my troops, and those of my allies, will soon surmount every obstacle; and that the fleet which, under the usurped dominion of France, was destined to co-operate in the invasion of these islands, may speedily, I trust, under its ancient standard, partake in the glory of restoring the religion, liberty, and independence, of those provinces, so long in intimate union and alliance with this country. While you rejoice with me in the events which add so much lustre to the British character, you will, I am persuaded, as cordially join in the sentiments so justly due to the conduct of my good and faithful ally the emperor of Russia. To his *magnanimity and wisdom*, directing to so many quarters of Europe the force of his extensive and powerful empire, we are, in a great measure, indebted for the success of our own efforts, as well as for the rapid and favorable change in the general situation of affairs." His majesty concluded this remarkable speech with informing the two houses that he had communicated to the parliament of Ireland, at the close of their

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last session, the sentiments expressed to him by the British legislature respecting an incorporating union with that kingdom. "The experience of every day," said the monarch, "confirms me in the persuasion that signal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important measure: and I trust that the disposition of my parliament there will be found to correspond with that which you have manifested for the accomplishment of a work which would tend so much to add to the security and happiness of all my Irish subjects, and to consolidate the strength and prosperity of the empire."

In the house of lords the address was moved by the marquis of Buckingham. Adverting to that part of the royal speech which related to the militia, his lordship acknowledged "that nothing less than the necessity of *this extraordinary war* could warrant the least departure from the original system. When he contemplated the events of the present year, and the success which had attended our arms in almost every quarter of the globe, he could not help considering these advantages as being far short of those which Providence had yet in store for us." The marquis then expatiated on the impiety, cruelty, and injustice, of the French nation; together with the fate which had attend-

ed every action undertaken on such principles. "The man who was *called* the conqueror and the hero, was defeated and frustrated in all his attempts, from the battle of Aboukir to the siege of Acre. After sitting down before an inconsiderable and ill-fortified town, which he regularly besieged, he was seen to retreat, loaded with disgrace, and completely defeated, by a handful of British sailors, who on that occasion were converted into soldiers, and by the few Turks whom the presence of our small naval force, and the exertions of its gallant commander, inspired with courage which they would otherwise never have displayed." His lordship then exulted over the fate of Tippoo Saheb, "whose pride had been humbled to the dust, and whose capital had been taken by our army." The astonishing efforts of the emperor of Russia came next under his consideration. "It was to the energy, and, above all, to the *fidelity*, of that illustrious prince, that Europe might be regarded as chiefly indebted for her deliverance." The address was seconded by lord Amherst, and carried without a division.

A similar address, echoing in the usual mode the sentiments of the speech, passed the lower house with the same facility.

The measure of engrafting a still larger proportion of the militia into the regular army being

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regarded as of extreme importance, Mr. Plumer, member for Herts, a man of great public and private respectability, moved a call of the house; but this was opposed and over-ruled by Mr. Pitt, although the number of members actually assembled did not amount to two hundred.

Bill for the further reduction of the militia.

On the 26th of September, Mr. secretary Dundas moved to bring in a bill for the reduction of the militia, and to enable his majesty to accept the services of an additional number of volunteers. He did not wish to conceal that this motion had in view the employment of a greater force on the continent. The supplementary militia was brought forward when the country was threatened with invasion; but for some time past the necessity of a large establishment for home defence had been gradually wearing away.

Mr. Tierney said "that he did not object to the measure in present circumstances as a bad one, so much as to the application of it. He thought there was sufficient reason to conclude that the Dutch had no inclination to co-operate with our efforts. Though our army had been a month in the country, few joined our cause; and an obstinate resistance had been opposed to our progress. After a succession of severe encounters, we merely occupied the positions held at the commencement of our enterprise.

Holland had now no fleet: nothing remained to the Dutch but their swamps and their canals; an attempt to recover which, from their present possessors, would only tend to make that country the grave of Englishmen."

Mr. Sheridan affirmed that the expedition against Holland could not succeed, and ought not to have been attempted without a full assurance of the co-operation of the Dutch nation, which there appeared no reason to expect. He hoped, therefore, that ministers would not persevere in the fruitless attempt to conquer Holland by force; or, at least, that the house would not support administration in such destructive obstinacy.

Mr. Pitt, in his accustomed loftiness of language, assured the house "that the expedition to Holland was undertaken under such auspices as would justify the most sanguine hopes of success. We can draw," said the minister, "*from* HUMAN NATURE *itself*, the most solid assurance of favor and support to our cause. We know that there can be no country which has ever tasted French oppression, which has ever been linked in French fraternity, that does not long to shake off the galling yoke. Unless the Dutch have lost, not only their national character, but the features of HUMAN NATURE *itself*, we must find allies in their hearts, their affections,

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their hopes, and their prayers. If, contrary to all he believed, the attempt to rescue Holland from the tyranny of France should miscarry, government would still have cause, not merely of consolation, but triumph, in the acquisition of an object fully adequate to justify the design and compensate for the sacrifices. If we could not secure a friend, at least we had succeeded in disarming an adversary."

Mr. Windham, in that high tone of arrogant fatuity which distinguished the faction of the Burkites, considered "the invasion and conquest of Holland as only the means towards accomplishing the great end in view. Could we," he asked, "be safe, while such a republic as that established in France continued to exist? He would state fairly, that both the reduction of France, and the total overthrow of the French government, was his object and the object of those with whom he acted."

Unavailing opposition, in both houses, to the bill for the further reduction of the militia.

On the 4th of October, the bill having been transmitted to the peers, earl Fitzwilliam rose in opposition to the principle of it; which his lordship affirmed to be not only unjust in its nature, but calculated to introduce into the militia a degree of insubordination of the most perilous tendency. When it was brought into parliament last year, he had foreseen that what was then grounded upon a particular emergency

would be resorted to on every occasion as a general principle. The same reasons which induced him to oppose it at that time, were strengthened by this proposed extension. The plan was a breach of the engagement which subsisted with men who were raised with a peculiar purpose under a peculiar system. By changing the nature of their service, government acted in a manner which they had not anticipated.

Lord Holland observed, that the practice which had been introduced of sacrificing the militia to the regular army, tended to destroy that constitutional system of defence; and he suspected that from the beginning it had been in the contemplation of ministers to render the militia subservient to the recruiting of the army—a measure calculated to disgust the officers in that service, the nature of which was different from that of a regular army: the views and the qualifications were different;—and his lordship concluded with expressing his disapprobation of the bill, both with respect to the object and the means. The avowed object of administration was the restoration of the stadtholder's power; but this it would be extreme folly and injustice to attempt, unless the people of Holland themselves co-operated with our efforts, of which he saw no probability.

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The earl of Carnarvon forcibly declared that this perversion of the militia, once carried into execution, irrecoverably destroyed it: the legislature could not, with all its omnipotence, restore it; the same confidence could never be revived. Unprofessional gentlemen could not be expected to labor in the formation of regiments which they were not to command in the hour of danger. They must remember that their zeal and labor had been rewarded by the transfer of its object to another; and that those who directed military arrangements held the constitutional system of the militia in aversion, and sought every opportunity of depressing its ardor and reducing it to a standing army.

The lords Grenville and Westmoreland defended the provisions of the bill throughout, as perfectly constitutional; but the earl of Hardwicke, who spoke on the same side, admitted, with fairness and moderation, that the bill was liable to much objection, and contained many things grievous and painful to militia officers; but the propriety of enlarging the offensive force of the country induced him to give it support, much as he deplored the necessity. This appeared, on the subsequent division, to be the almost unanimous sense of the house; and, after voting the supplies required for two months

only, both houses of parliament adjourned to the 21st of January, 1800.

Overture of the first consul for peace.—

The close of the old and the commencement of the new year were distinguished by a transaction most momentous in its nature and consequences. About the end of December, lord Grenville received a letter from M. Talleyrand, secretary for foreign affairs in France, dated 5th Nivose, 8th year, signifying that he had, by order of his government, dispatched a messenger with a letter from the first consul to his majesty the king of England. Of this celebrated epistle, the following is an accurate transcript:—

"FRENCH REPUBLIC—SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE—LIBERTY—EQUALITY.

"BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL *of the* REPUBLIC, *to his* MAJESTY *the* KING *of* GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND.

"Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year (December 25, 1799).

"CALLED by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

"The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

"How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits

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of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity as well as of the first glory?

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

"Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

"France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, to the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

"Of your majesty,

"BONAPARTE."

1800. —Scornfully rejected by the English government.

In a few days lord Grenville informed M. Talleyrand "that he had laid before the king the two letters transmitted to him; and that his majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, had commanded him to return, in his name, the official answer enclosed.

"OFFICIAL NOTE *from* LORD GRENVILLE *to the* MINISTER *for* FOREIGN AFFAIRS *at* PARIS.

"London, January 4, 1800.

"THE king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity

in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects.

"For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack; and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

"The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilised nations.

"For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss cantons, his majesty's ancient friends and allies, have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

"Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone. They have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation

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and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

"While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability, for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

"For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe; and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

"Greatly, indeed, will his majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished. But the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his majesty's wishes, can result only from experience and the evidence of facts.

"The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence, would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in pros-

perity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad. Such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory, and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

"But, desirable as such an event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

"His majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country from whose internal situation the danger has arisen—or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same end—his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

"Unhappily no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation it can, for the present, only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

"GRENVILLE."

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In as short a time as the distance and other circumstances would admit, lord Grenville received a note from M. Talleyrand, inclosing, by command of the first consul, an answer to his last communication, "equally official," as follows:—

M. TALLEYRAND *to* LORD GRENVILLE.

"Paris, 24th Nivose, 8th year (Jan. 14, 1800).

"THE official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, the 8th year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic majesty, having been laid before the first consul of the French republic, he observed with surprise that it rested upon an opinion which is not exact, respecting the origin and consequences of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted, that, occupied at that time with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

"But, from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real long time before it was public. Internal resistance was excited: its opponents were favorably received; their extravagant declamations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her. Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honor, and in her safety, long time before war was declared.

"Thus it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences.

"Assailed on all sides, the republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence; and it is only for the maintenance of her independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed in her own strength and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw her enemies obstinately refused to recognise her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but, as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of reconciliation, and manifested pacific intentions; and, if these have not always been efficacious—if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority in France have not always shown as much moderation as the nation itself has shown courage—it must, above all, be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France.

"But if the wishes of his Britannic majesty, in conformity with his assurances, are in unison with those of the French republic for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which the utility is reciprocal and is felt; especially when the first consul of the French republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his

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disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all the treaties concluded?

"The first consul of the French republic could not doubt that his Britannic majesty recognised the right of nations to choose the form of their government, *since it is from the* EXERCISE *of this* RIGHT *that he holds his* CROWN. But he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rest the existence of political societies, the ministers of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic; and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his majesty if a sort of invitation were held out in favor of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century; or an exhortation to recal to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it.

"If, at periods not far distant, when the constitutional system of the republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negotiation and pacific conferences, how is it possible that he should not be eager now to renew negotiations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress? On every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the conclusion of a war marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities, or, in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached to those only who shall have provoked them, that the first consul of the French republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who shall repair to Dunkirk, or any other town

as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications; and who should apply themselves, without any delay, to effect the re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the French republic and England.—The first consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose. BOOK XXXIII. 1800.

"C. M. TALLEYRAND."

To this note the following official answer was returned:—

"LORD GRENVILLE *to* M. TALLEYRAND.

"Downing-street, January 20, 1810.

"THE official note transmitted by the minister for foreign affairs in France, and received by the undersigned on the 18th instant, has been laid before the king.

"His majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes in that note that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present rulers under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded; and, in so far as they respect his majesty's conduct, not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate, and also by the express testimony, given at that time, of the government of France itself.

"With respect to the object of the note, his majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given.

"He has explained without reserve the obstacles which, in his judgment, preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negotiation. All the inducements to treat which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal

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dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace, and for the future observance of treaties; the power of insuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the solidity of the system newly established after so rapid a succession of revolutions—all these are points which can be known only from that test to which his majesty has already referred them, the result of EXPERIENCE and the EVIDENCE of FACTS.

"With that sincerity and plainness his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, his majesty has pointed out to France the surest and speediest means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared, in terms equally explicit, and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government; that he looks only to the security of his own dominions and of Europe; and that, whenever that essential object can, in his judgment, be in any manner whatever sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negotiation for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

"To these declarations his majesty steadily adheres; and it is only on the grounds thus stated that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence to which, under the favor of Providence, his kingdoms owe the security of those blessings which they now enjoy.

"GRENVILLE."

Correspondence between M. Talleyrand and Lord Grenville laid before parliament—

The whole of this very extraordinary correspondence was immediately communicated to parliament by a message from the king; and, on the 28th of January, lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, which he ushered in by an harangue of outrageous abuse and violence

against the first consul. "He had multiplied violations of all moral and religious duties; he had repeated acts of perfidy; his hypocrisies were innumerable; and, in the declarations which affirmed the French to be true mussulmen, he had given us a correct idea of his sincerity and his principles." The address was ably opposed by the duke of Bedford, who observed "that there were no terms sufficiently strong to censure the littleness which attacked the personal character of Bonaparte in order to ruin him in the estimation of the French nation. Could these railing accusations," asked his grace, "enable us to negotiate with more effect, or in any degree faciliate the prospect of peace?" He concluded with moving an amendment to the address, expressive of disapprobation, censure, and regret, for the evil counsels by which his majesty had been induced to reject the advances made for that purpose.

—Memorable debate on the same.

Lord Romney, though he professed to approve the general conduct of ministers, thought they had, in this instance, taken wrong ground, and had acted improperly in their abrupt rejection of the overtures of France. "No bad consequences could have ensued from entering into a negotiation, and our preparations might have gone on with equal vigor for the succeeding campaign. If the terms of Bonaparte had been un-

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reasonable, they might have been refused; and the odium of prolonging the war would have devolved on France." His lordship said he could not, in consistency with his sentiments, vote either for the address or the amendment. Lord Carlisle, who approved the rejection of the overtures in present circumstances, admitted the letters of lord Grenville to be violent, and apparently indiscreet. But the earl of Liverpool maintained "that ministers had adopted the only course of security and honor by their replies to the proposition of Bonaparte. Until the French repealed their decrees, of which one was that they had a right to interfere with every government upon earth, and another that they had a right to annex any part of Europe which fell into their hands to the republic, no good could be derived from any negotiation. All the commerce of the world was now brought into our harbors: should we depart from a system which had placed us in so prosperous a situation?"—In answer to the latter part of his argument, lord Carlisle admonished the noble earl that this reasoning was decisive against entering into a negotiation with France at any time and under any circumstances; and he begged to ask the noble lord, "whether it was arguing like a philosopher or a statesman to insist that war must be continued *in infinitum*, in order that all the ships

of the world might come into the port of London?" In the result, though manifest symptoms of dissatisfaction appeared on the part of many of the ministerial lords, the address was carried by the usual overwhelming majority.

In the house of commons, Mr. Dundas moved (February 3) a similar address, which he supported, after the example of lord Grenville, in stigmatising, with the utmost asperity of language, the character and conduct of Bonaparte; in whose hands, he affirmed, "that all power was now consolidated and concentred. It was not," he said, "France in arms which was to be dreaded by Great Britain, but the permanent existence of a government founded on bad principles and bad faith. Such a government must, therefore, be overthrown, or its powers reduced, before this country could safely consent to treat. He admitted that twice within these four years England had entered into negotiation with France. But the feelings of ministers were repugnant to the measure, and its success would have proved a calamity."

Mr. Whitbread observed "that every expression which could revile, every topic which could prejudice, every art which could blacken, had been used for the purposes of political slander. But, even allowing Bonaparte to be precisely what he had been described, was he

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the only person who could be accused of a violation of honor or good faith? In the subversion of the Venetian republic, a transaction he would not defend, was not Austria equally concerned? Were not both parties alike culpable? England was now smarting under the treachery of Prussia, who took an enormous subsidy from us, and then broke through all engagements. Did not three of the first powers in Europe divide and appropriate to themselves the unfortunate kingdom of Poland, whilst England was a tame spectator? Yet Austria and Russia were still our good and true allies. Is not Bonaparte as upright as these? If he had broken treaties, so had they; if he had killed his thousands, Suwaroff had killed his ten thousands. Ministers very modestly required that Bonaparte should acknowledge himself an usurper, recant his principles, descend from the exalted situation which he now filled, in order that the house of Bourbon might be re-instated. But was it really their wish to lavish the blood and treasure of England to effect that restoration? We were now contending either for this, or for the extermination of jacobinical principles. If for the former, we were fighting for an unattainable object; if for the latter against opinions,—which could not be eradicated by

force; and, in both cases, the contest must endure as long as time itself."

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Mr. Erskine remarked "that, whether it were politic or impolitic to accede to the armistice proposed by France, or even to the unqualified overture of negotiation, under no circumstances, and at no time, could such an answer as was actually returned be either wise or decent from the ministers of any nation to any possible professions of conciliation and peace. It was rash, insolent, and provoking, without necessity. Had ministers been able, by eight years of invective, to mitigate the evils of the French revolution? On the contrary, had we not, by persisting in an hostile line of conduct, and declaring France incapable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, placed her out of the pale of social community; and by this means heightened, and even created, many of the evils which we deplored? Could it be a matter of wonder if France, thus denounced as a public enemy, should be actuated by the spirit of retaliation, and, in her ungoverned rage, desolate whatever territory she occupied? Or that, warring against so formidable a confederacy, the rights of nations should be so little respected? Was not the world agitated with portentous violence, because the ministers of Great Britain had resolved to re-establish an order of things

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which had reached its distant period and expired? Mr. Erskine treated with contempt the idea that the present overture from the first consul was to be rejected as insincere. Surrounded with perils, at the head of an untried government, menaced by a great confederacy, of which England was the acknowledged chief, compelled to press heavily on the resources of an exhausted people, peace was undoubtedly his interest; and he might be reasonably expected to make great sacrifices for the re-establishment of the national tranquillity. In every view he disapproved the answer which had been sent by ministers to Bonaparte. It appeared to him to be pregnant with danger, and to entail an awful responsibility upon those who advised and those who supported it."

The attention of the house was then attracted by a labored and eloquent oration from the chancellor of the exchequer, who, embracing a very large scope, endeavoured by every possible artifice of rhetoric, taking a retrospective view of things from the very commencement of the revolution, to revive and inflame to the utmost all the angry and malignant passions of human nature, against a nation from which such frank and generous overtures for the renewal of amity had so recently proceeded. Mr. Pitt stated to the house, that the foundation of the reasoning of

the last speaker, and his grand argument for immediate treaty, was the supposed impossibility of overturning the French revolution; and that it would not only be imprudent but impious to struggle any longer against the order of things, which (upon he knew not what idea of predestination) he regarded as immortal. Mr. Pitt acknowledged that he did indeed consider the revolution as the severest trial which the visitation of Providence had ever yet inflicted on the nations of the earth: but he could not help reflecting with satisfaction that this country, even under such a trial, had not only been exempted from those calamities which had covered almost every other part of Europe, but appeared to have been reserved as a refuge and asylum to those who fled from its persecution; as a barrier to oppose its progress; and, perhaps, ultimately as an instrument to deliver the world from the crimes and miseries which have attended it. Mr. Pitt, in adverting to the origin of the war, affirmed that the refusal to recognise M. Chauvelin in the capacity of ambassador from the republic, in no sort accelerated that event. He maintained, on the contrary, that an opportunity was afforded for discussion as fully as if a regular and accredited minister had been resident here, but that all the explanations on the side of France were inadmissable. He justified the rejection of M.

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Chauvelin's new credentials. We had a right to reply to M. Chauvelin, when he tendered them, 'We have had no satisfaction for the injuries we have received; no security from the dangers with which we are threatened: under these circumstances we will not accept your new credentials: the former you have yourselves recalled by the sacrifice of your king.' Mr. Pitt, after uttering in this strain a long and furious invective against the French republic, observed "that it was after receiving the most insulting declarations from the government of France, under the name of explanations, that M. Chauvelin was required to depart: and even after that period (he was almost ashamed to record it) we did not on our part shut the door against other attempts to negotiate. But this transaction was immediately followed by the declaration of war—not proceeding from England in vindication of her rights, but from France as the completion of her insults. And, on a war thus originating, could it be doubted by an English house of commons whether the aggression was imputable to this country or to France? or whether the manifest aggression on the part of France was the result of any thing but the principles which characterize the French revolution?

"The only objection to this simple statement

of facts was to be found in the insinuation contained in the note from France, that this country had, previous to the transactions to which he had referred, encouraged and supported the combination of other powers directed against the French nation.

"Upon investigating the subject, the proofs which contradicted such an insinuation were innumerable. In the year 1792, Russia conceived, as well as ourselves, a natural and just alarm for the balance of Europe, and applied to learn our sentiments. In our answer we imparted the principles on which we then acted; and we communicated this answer to the court of Berlin, with whom we are connected in defensive alliance. On the 29th of December, 1792, a dispatch was sent from lord Grenville to his majesty's minister in Russia, stating 'the line of conduct to be followed previous to the commencement of hostilities, with the view, if possible, to avert them, and the nature and amount of the forces which the powers engaged in this concert might be enabled to use, supposing such extremities unavoidable.'—As to the first, it appeared most advisable that the powers not hitherto engaged in the war should propose to the French nation terms of peace;—that those terms should be the withdrawing their arms within the limits of the French territory—the

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abandoning their conquests—the rescinding any acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of any other nation—and the giving, in some public and unequivocal manner, a pledge of their intention no longer to foment troubles or excite disturbances against other governments. In return for these stipulations, the different potentates of Europe who should be parties to this measure, might engage to abandon all measures or views of hostility against France, or interference in her internal affairs; and to maintain a correspondence and intercourse of amity with the existing powers in that country with whom such a treaty may be concluded. If, on the result of this proposal so made by the potentates acting in concert, these terms should not be accepted by France, or, being accepted, should not be satisfactorily performed, the different powers might then engage themselves to each other to enter into active measures, for the purpose of obtaining the ends in view; and it may be to be considered, whether, in such case, they might not reasonably look to some INDEMNITY for the expenses and hazards to which they would necessarily be exposed."—As to the second point, viz. "that of the forces to be employed," Mr. Pitt thought it unnecessary then to speak.

The minister, on finishing this recital, asked, in a very high and lofty tone, "whether it was

possible to conceive any measure to be adopted, in the situation in which we then stood, which could more evidently demonstrate our desire, after repeated provocations, to preserve peace on any terms consistent with our safety? or whether any sentiment could now be suggested which would have more plainly marked our moderation, forbearance, and sincerity?"—He declared, "that he was, upon this account, far from challenging the applause of his country; for he confessed that ministers were too slow in anticipating the danger resulting from revolutionary principles, against which, nothing but vigorous and open hostility can afford complete and adequate security*. You cannot," said

* The paper so vauntingly panegyrised on the part of Mr. Pitt for its forbearance and moderation, was, in fact, flagrantly insidious, and decidedly hostile to France. Scarcely had the war commenced, when France, then under the constitutional monarchy, applied earnestly to England to mediate between her and the Germanic powers. This was refused on the shallow pretext that it was not desired by both the belligerent parties: and the English court saw the invasion of France, and the probable dismemberment of her provinces, with apparent complacency; but, no sooner had the war taken a different turn, and France had not only repelled her invading foes, but occupied an extensive portion of their territory, than the court of London made overtures to Russia, to compel France to make ignominious retractations, and to conclude a peace upon condition of relinquishing all her acquisitions. These imperious demands it was previously certain that

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this eloquent orator, "look at the map of Europe, and lay your hand upon that country against which France has not either declared an open and aggressive war, or violated some positive treaty, or broken some recognised principle of the law of nations. The all-searching eye of the French revolution looks to every part of Europe and every quarter of the world in which can be found an object either of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition; nothing too small or insignificant for the grasp of its rapacity. Even to INDIA messengers were sent, for the purpose of inculcating war in those distant regions on revolutionary principles. An insatiable love of aggrandisement — an implacable spirit of destruction against all the civil and religious institutions of every country;—*this* is the first moving and acting spirit of the French revolution. This is the spirit which animated it at its birth, and this is the spirit which will not desert it till the moment of its dissolution.—From the alliance of the most horrid principles with the most horrid

France would not comply with: in which case the MEDIATING POWERS might engage themselves in active measures, to obtain not only SECURITY, but INDEMNITY, at the expense of the republic. Such was the boasted candor and impartiality of the British government in this great contest between France and her continental enemies!

means only, could such calamities have been brought upon Europe. Groaning under every degree of misery, the victim of its own crimes, France still retains new and unexampled capacities of annoyance and destruction against all the other powers of Europe."

After dwelling very long on this part of his subject, Mr. Pitt adverted to the different negotiations for peace which had taken place.—"It had," he said, "been affirmed, that the negotiation of 1796 was broken off on the single point of the possession of the Netherlands; and, therefore, upon this ground only has the war since that time been continued. But it was *not* on the decision of this question of policy and expediency that the issue of the negotiation then turned. What was required of us by France, was not merely that we should acquiesce in her retaining the Netherlands; but that we should, as a *preliminary* to all treaty and all discussion, recognise the principle, that whatever France, in time of war, had annexed to the republic, must remain inseparable for ever, and could not become the subject of negotiation. In refusing such a preliminary, we were only resisting the claim of France to arrogate to itself the power of controlling, by its own separate and municipal acts, the rights and interests of other countries, and moulding, at its

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discretion, a new and general code of the law of nations*." In the year 1797, Mr. Pitt said, under the pressure of a necessity which he should not disguise, we made another attempt to negotiate. "It was not now a demand that France should restore any thing—Austria having made peace upon her own terms. So far from retaining any French possessions in our own hands, we freely offered them all; requiring only, as a poor compensation, to retain a part of what we had acquired by arms from Holland, then identified with France. This proposal also was proudly refused, in a way which

* But Mr. Pitt dare not assert, in plain terms, that England would or ought to have continued the war in opposition to the abstract claim of the French government, if the Austrian Low Countries had not been accidentally included in the scope of it. No *recognition* of the claim was required—it was a question merely of terms; and the indubitable *fact* is, that the negotiation of 1796 broke off precisely and specifically on the peremptory demand, or *sine qua non*, of lord Malmesbury, for the restoration of the Netherlands. It would indeed have been inexpressibly absurd to have broken off the negotiation in consequence of any such *mere* theoretical or speculative assumption on the part of France; but when that speculative assumption involved in it a practical point, which the court of London was determined not to give up, it was *convenient* to exhibit the theoretical claim in the most odious colors, and to represent it as the SOLE cause, though in reality no cause at all, of the failure of the negotiation.

had been reprobated by the general voice of the country." Having exhausted the stores of his eloquence on this topic, and the subsequent conduct of France respecting Switzerland, America, and Egypt, he came at length to the consideration of the question before the house. "A characteristic of the republic of France, as striking as its power of destruction, was its instability, which was of itself sufficient to annihilate all confidence in its rulers. Such had been the incredible rapidity with which the revolutions in France had succeeded each other, that the names of those who have successively exercised absolute power under the pretence of liberty, were to be numbered by the years which had elapsed.

"Having taken a view of what France was," said the minister, "let us now examine what it is. A supreme power is placed at the head of this nominal republic, with a more open avowal of military despotism than at any former period. The different institutions, republican in form and appearance, which were before the instruments of that despotism, are now annihilated. They have given way to the absolute power of one man, concentrating in himself all the authority of the state, and differing from other monarchs only in this, that he wields a sword instead of a sceptre. What, in these circumstances, is the

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confidence we are to derive, either from the frame of the government, or from the character and conduct of the person who is now the absolute ruler of France?"

Mr. Pitt then took a most minute and malignant survey of the public conduct of Bonaparte, from the commencement of his civil and military career to the present period, in France, in Italy, and in Egypt. "His acts of perfidy," he said, "were commensurate with the number of his treaties; and, if we trace the history of those deeds which have been stained by the most atrocious cruelty, and marked the most strongly with the characteristic features of the revolution, the name of Bonaparte will be found allied to more of them than that of any other which can be handed down in the narrative of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years. But it will, perhaps, be argued, that, whatever may be his character, or whatever has been his past conduct, he has now an interest in making and observing peace. This was to him a doubtful proposition: that it was his interest to negotiate, he readily would acknowledge; and to negotiate with this country separately, in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the continent; to palsy at once the arms of Russia or of Austria, or of any other country that might look to Great Britain for support. But

on what grounds are we to be convinced that he has an interest in concluding a solid pacification? What other security has he for retaining his newly-acquired power than the sword? He is a stranger, a foreigner, and an usurper. He appeals to his fortune; and, placing his whole reliance on military support, can he afford to let his military renown pass away? to let his laurels wither? to let the memory of his trophies sink in obscurity? What grounds have we to believe that this new usurpation, more odious and more undisguised than all that preceded it, will be more durable? I say not that we will in no case treat with Bonaparte; but, in the language of the answer returned to the French note, I say that we ought to wait for EXPERIENCE and the EVIDENCE of FACTS before we are convinced that such a treaty is admissible. Considering the importance of obtaining complete security for the objects for which we contend, we ought not to be discouraged too soon; but the limits, beyond which it would be wrong to persist, can be determined only by estimating and comparing fairly, from time to time, the degree of security to be obtained by treaty, and the risk and disadvantage of continuing the contest. If there appeared signs of a stable government, not now to be traced;—if the danger of the contest should increase, whilst the hope of ultimate suc-

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cess should be diminished; these considerations would have their due weight. But, if the question is no longer between monarchy and even the pretence and name of liberty, but between the ancient line of hereditary princes on the one hand, and a military tyrant, a foreign usurper, on the other;—if the armies of that usurper are likely to find sufficient occupation on the frontiers, and to be forced at length to leave the interior of the country at liberty to manifest its real feeling and disposition; what reason have we to anticipate that the restoration of monarchy, under such circumstances, is impracticable? And can it be supposed to be indifferent to us or to the world, whether the throne of France is to be filled by a prince of the house of Bourbon, or by him whose principles and conduct I have endeavoured to develope? Is it nothing whether a system shall be sanctioned which confirms, by one of its fundamental articles, a general transfer of property from its ancient and lawful possessors; which holds out one of the most terrible examples of national injustice? and which has, by this very act of injustice, furnished the great resource of revolutionary finance and revolutionary strength against all the powers of Europe? It is true, indeed, that even the gigantic and unnatural means by which that revolution has been supported, are so far impaired, the influence of its

principles and the terror of its arms so far weakened, and its power of action so much contracted and circumscribed, that, against the embodied force of Europe, prosecuting a vigorous war, we may justly hope that the remnant and wreck of this system cannot long oppose an effectual resistance. At this moment I see no possibility of such a peace as would be attended with any of the advantages of established tranquillity; and, as I cannot be content with its nominal attainments, I will not grasp at the shadow when the reality is beyond my reach—*Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest.*"

Mr. Fox immediately rose in reply. "All parties," said this renowned orator and statesman, "are agreed in opinion, that the present is a new era of the war: yet the right honorable gentleman does not seem to think any new arguments necessary to induce us to persevere in it. All the topics which have so often misled us—all the reasoning which has so invariably failed—all the lofty predictions which have been so constantly falsified by events—all the hopes which have amused the sanguine, and all the assurances of the distress and weakness of the enemy which have satisfied the unthinking, are again enumerated and advanced as arguments for our continuing the war. Were we not told, five

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years ago, that France was not only on the verge of ruin, but actually sunk in the gulf of bankruptcy; that she could not hold out another campaign; and that we had nothing to do but to persevere for a short time in order to save ourselves for ever from the consequences of her ambition and her jacobinism? After having gone on from year to year upon assurances like these, and after having seen the repeated refutations of every prediction, are we again to be gravely and seriously told that we have the same prospect of success on the same identical grounds? And upon those assurances and predictions which have so uniformly failed, we are called upon, not merely to refuse all negotiation, but to countenance principles and views as distant from wisdom and justice as they are in their nature wild and impracticable. I must lament, in common with every genuine friend of peace, the harsh and unconciliating language which ministers have made use of in their answer to a respectful offer of negotiation. Such language has ever been reprobated and considered as extremely unwise by the most celebrated diplomatic characters. I must lament that such license has this night been given to invective and reproach; and that the right-honorable gentleman has entered with such severity and minuteness of investigation into all the early circum-

stances of the war, which, whatever they were, are nothing to the present purpose. I certainly shall not follow him in his details; but I will tell him, fairly and candidly, that, until I see better grounds for changing my opinion than any he has this night produced, I shall continue to think and to affirm that this country was the aggressor in the war betwixt France and England. But with regard to Austria and Prussia, no man can, against the evidence of documents so clear and decisive, *plausibly* contend that *they* were not engaged in a war of aggression. The unfortunate monarch, Louis XVI., himself, as well as those who were in his confidence, have borne testimony to the fact, that between him and the emperor there existed a perfect understanding. No man can read the declarations of Pilnitz and Mantau, as they are given by M. Bertrand de Moleville, without perceiving an intention on the part of the great powers of Germany to interfere by force in the internal government of France. Was it not a menace and an insult to France to declare, that, whenever the other powers of Europe should concur, they would attack France, with whom they were then at peace? And, when we see it established on the most indisputable testimony that both at Pilnitz and Mantau declarations were made to this effect, it is idle to say that, as far as the emperor and the

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king of Prussia were concerned, they were not the aggressors in the war. As to the decree of November, which the right-honorable gentleman styles an act of heinous aggression on the part of France, I am not one of those who attach much interest to wild indiscriminate propositions thrown out at random; nor do I think it consistent with the dignity of a great nation to apply to itself menaces of this vague and general nature. If any such provocation should be deemed worthy of notice, an explanation ought, in the first instance, to be demanded; and, in the present case, we all know that M. Chauvelin did give an explanation of this offensive decree. He declared, in the name of his government, 'that it was never meant to favor insurrections; that France would respect, not only the independence of England, but also that of her allies with whom the republic was not at war." A nation, to justify itself, in appealing to the last solemn resort, ought to prove that it had taken every possible means, consistent with its dignity, to obtain, for any injury offered, such reparation and redress as would be satisfactory; and, if she refused fairly and candidly to explain what would be satisfactory, she did not do her duty, nor exonerate herself from the charge of being the aggressor. The right-honorable gentleman has this night, for the first time, pro-

duced a most important paper—the instructions which were given to his majesty's minister at the court of St. Petersburg about the end of the year 1792, to prevent, by the joint mediation of England and Russia, the evils of a general war. This the right-honorable gentleman seems disposed to take blame to himself for, and to make the subject of his apology—*Quod solum excusat, hoc solum miror in illo.* But why was not this idea acted upon? The merit of this paper is confined to the composition. It was a fine theory never to be carried into practice. This dispatch, or the substance of it, was never communicated to the French, never acted upon, never known to the world until this day. On the contrary, at the very time that ministers had drawn up this paper, they were insulting M. Chauvelin in every way; until, about the 23d or 24th of January, they finally dismissed him without stating any one ground upon which they were willing to preserve terms with the French; and knowing that, by the treaty of 1786, the dismissal of a minister was to be considered as tantamount to a declaration of war. In all this I am not justifying the French. I am not striving to absolve them from blame either in their internal or external policy. I think, on the contrary, that their successive rulers have been as bad as any that the world ever saw. I think it impossible that it

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should have been otherwise. They could not have lived so long under their ancient masters without imbibing the restless ambition, the perfidy, and the insatiable spirit, of the Bourbon race; and, through their whole career of mischief and of crimes, they have done no more than servilely trace the steps of Louis the GRAND MONARQUE. I therefore contend, that, as we never scrupled to treat with the princes of the house of Bourbon on account of their rapacity, their thirst of conquest, their violation of treaties, their perfidy, and their restless spirit, we ought not to refuse to treat with their republican imitators. The right-honorable gentleman makes it his boast that he was prevented, by a predilection for the system of neutrality, from taking timely measures of precaution. But this neutrality, which respected only the internal rights of the French, and from which the people of England would never have departed but for the impolitic and hypocritical cant which was employed to arouse their jealousy and alarm their fears, was very different from the great principle of political prudence which ought to have actuated the councils of the nation on seeing the first steps of France towards a career of external conquest. My opinion is, when the unfortunate Louis offered and even entreated us to mediate between him and the allied powers of Aus-

tria and Prussia, that England should have accepted the offer, and exerted her influence to save the nations of Christendom from the calamities with which they were threatened. Having not done so, ministers have no right to talk about the aggression of France and the violated rights of Europe. If this war of reproach and invective is to be countenanced and continued against the French, surely we ought not to be wholly indifferent to the character of other powers, with whom we maintain a connexion of friendship. But is there a single atrocity of France, in Italy, in Switzerland, or in Egypt, which is not equalled by the conduct of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, our allies, in this war for religion and social order, in the devoted kingdom of Poland?

"'The lover of liberty,' says the right-honorable gentleman, 'thought himself at home on the favored and happy mountains of Switzerland, her undisturbed and chosen asylum.' But who first proposed to the Swiss people to depart from that neutrality which was their chief protection? Was not the minister of England, lord Robert Fitzgerald, instructed in direct terms to urge these happy and sequestered communities to break through the safe line they had marked for themselves; and to tell them, 'that in such a contest neutrality was criminal?'—What was our

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language to Tuscany? Was not the grand duke compelled to dismiss the French minister under the menace of bombarding Leghorn?—Or need I speak of the insults offered to the republic of Genoa, and the hostile blockade of her capital?

"The French seized on Venice; and I agree with the right-honorable gentleman that this was an abominable act. But was it quite within the rule of diplomatic morality for Austria immediately to accept the transfer of the country, thus making itself a party in the transaction so justly reprobated? No man regrets more than I do the enormities which France has committed: but how do they bear upon the question as it now stands? Are we for ever to deprive ourselves of the benefits of peace, because the French have perpetrated acts of injustice? No; with the knowledge of these injurious acts, we have treated with them twice. The crimes of the French, and the instability of their government, were no obstacles to treating with them in 1796; and, when baffled in that negotiation, to opening another at Lisle at 1797. Of these negotiations, the right-honorable gentleman has indeed given us this curious and, as he calls it, *honest* account—'that he apprehended danger from the success of his own efforts to procure a pacification, and that he was not displeased at its failure. He was sincere in his endeavours to treat, but was

not disappointed when they failed; for a state of peace, circumstanced as we then were in relation to France, he regarded as more insecure than a state of war.'—I have no hesitation in allowing the fact, that a state of peace, immediately after a war of such violence, must, in some respects, be a state of insecurity. But are we never to have peace, because such peace may be insecure? Why, then, did the right-honorable gentleman consent to treat? Because 'the unequivocal sense of the people of England was in favor of negotiation.' This he himself now tells us. I thought so at the time; and so the petitions on your table stated it to be. But who does not recollect with what contempt those petitions were treated, and how little they were allowed to speak the sense of the people. Now we find these petitions did speak the sense of the people, and that ministers acted upon it in contempt of the vote of parliament. The negotiation of 1796 broke off upon the question of Belgium. 'This,' says the right-honorable gentleman, 'is a mistake: it went off on account of a monstrous principle advanced by France, incompatible with all negotiation.' But, in the succeeding year, a new negotiation was, by the solicitation of the English government, opened with the French at Lisle, without waiting for the retractation of this incompatible principle, and with all the enormities

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of the French upon their heads. I do not blame ministers for this; but I insist that the former negotiation could not, as the right-honorable gentleman pretends, have been broken off in consequence of the avowal of any such incompatible principle.

"But ministers tell us they have not refused all discussion. They have declared the restoration of the house of Bourbon to be an event which would immediately remove every obstacle to negotiation. If the restoration of that house be the wish of the French nation, I, for one, shall be perfectly content to acquiesce; but, as an Englishman, actuated by English feelings, I cannot wish for the restoration to the power which they abused. I feel for their situation; I respect their distresses; but I cannot forget that the history of the century is little more than an account of the calamities arising from their intrigues, their perfidy, and their ambition.

"The restoration of the house of Bourbon is, however, denied to be a *sine qua non*. The right-honorable gentleman, in language which I do not understand, talks of *limited possibilities*, which may induce ministers to treat with France, though this restoration should not take place. But these must depend upon EXPERIENCE and the EVIDENCE of FACTS; and, in order to convince the house that new evidence is requisite, he goes back to all the earliest acts and crimes

of the revolution; to all the atrocities of the governments which have passed away; and contends that he must have experience of the adoption of a purer and better system, by which he may be sure that France shall be capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity. It seems, therefore, that the war is to be continued till all the peaceable virtues are excited, and for the very purpose of exciting them. What can we say of such a test, but that it is hopeless? It is the nature of war to inflame animosity, not to generate moderation; to exasperate, not to sooth; to widen, not to approximate; and, during the continuance of hostility, it is ridiculous to require evidence of a peaceable demeanor.

"But it is held to be a degradation to treat with an usurper, a military despot, whose power it is taken for granted will be short-lived. Was not the government erected by Julius Cæsar a military despotism? and yet it lasted for five or six hundred years. Cromwell was an usurper, yet France and Spain did not refuse to treat with him upon that account. It may be said that the splendor of his talents and the success of his arms gave weight and authority to his government. But may not the same be affirmed of Bonaparte? Is not he a man of great abilities? and are not the French as likely to acquiesce in his government as the English were in that of

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Cromwell? For this the right-honorable gentleman professes to wait. But will not the very test required, the acquiescence of the people of France in his government, give him an advantage-ground in the negotiation which he does not possess now? Is it quite sure that he will then treat on the same terms as now? Will he not have one interest less than at present to desire peace? and is it politic to overlook a favorable occasion of terminating this destructive war for a chance so extremely doubtful? These are the considerations I would urge on his majesty's ministers, against the dangerous experiment of waiting for the acquiescence of the people of France.

"But the right-honorable gentleman has another salvo in store:—'If the allies of this country shall be less successful than may reasonably be expected, in stirring up the people of France, and in the further prosecution of the war; or if the pressure of the war should be heavier upon us than it would be convenient to the nation for a continuance to bear'—then the right-honorable gentleman would consent to treat even with Bonaparte. I have often blamed the minister for being disingenuous and insincere: on the present occasion I certainly cannot charge him with any such thing: he has made to-night a most honest confession: he is open and candid:

he tells Bonaparte what he has to expect:—'I mean,' says he, 'to do every thing in my power to raise up the people of France against you. I have engaged a number of allies, and our combined efforts shall be used to excite insurrection and civil war in France: if I succeed,—well; but if I fail, then I will treat with you. My resources being exhausted, and my solid system of finance vanished into air, you will see me renounce my high tone, my attachment to the house of Bourbon, my abhorrence of your crimes, my alarm at your principles.' Is this a political language for one state to hold to another? And what sort of peace does the right-honorable gentleman expect to receive in that case? Does he think that Bonaparte would grant to baffled insolence, to humiliated pride, to disappointment and imbecility, the same terms which he would be ready to give now?

"Sir, what is the question to-night? We are called upon to support ministers in refusing a frank, candid, and respectful, offer of negotiation; and to countenance them in continuing the war. But let us for a moment suppose that ministers had been inclined to adopt the line of conduct which they pursued in 1796 and 1797, and that the address purported to contain thanks to his majesty for accepting the overture, and for opening a negotiation to treat for peace. I appeal to

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all the members of this house—I desire them to lay their hands upon their hearts, and to say whether they would not have cordially voted for such an address. Had the address breathed the spirit of peace, your benches would have resounded with praises and rejoicings; and I ask for the votes of none but those who, in the secret confession of their conscience, admit at this instant, while they hear me, that they would have cheerfully and heartily voted with the minister for an address directly the reverse of this. If every gentleman of that description should vote with me, I should be this night in the greatest majority that ever I had the honor to vote with in this house.

"We have heard to-night many acrimonious invectives against Bonaparte—against the whole course of his conduct—and against the unprincipled manner in which he seized upon the reins of government: I will not make his defence. I think all this sort of invective, which is used only to inflame the passions of this house and of the country, exceedingly ill-timed, and very impolitic—but I repeat, that I will not make his defence. I am not sufficiently in possession of materials upon which to form an opinion on the character of this extraordinary man. On his arrival in France he found the government in a very unsettled state, and the whole affairs of the re-

public, deranged, crippled, and involved: he thought it necessary to reform the government, and he reformed it in a way which may be deemed most natural to a military man—by seizing on the whole authority himself. It will not be expected from me, that I should either approve or apologise for such an act; but, why the right-honorable gentleman should be so violently indignant upon this occasion, I cannot discover. Is it not the system which was so happily and so advantageously established of late all over Ireland? and which, even now, the government may at its pleasure proclaim over the whole of that kingdom—and this at a time when the people of Ireland are called upon to discuss the interesting and momentous question of a legislative union? This the right-honorable gentleman thinks precisely the period, and these the circumstances, in which she may best declare her free and unbiassed opinion. What right have ministers, then, to exclaim against military despotism in France?—But it seems Bonaparte has broken his oaths—he has violated his oath of fidelity to the constitution of the third year. I confess myself of the number of those who think that such oaths ought not to be exacted: they are seldom or never of any effect; and I am not for sporting with a thing so sacred as an oath. Who ever heard, that, in revolutions, the oath of fidelity

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to the former government was regarded? The violation of their oaths of allegiance was never imputed to the people of England when they expelled the house of Stuart, and will never in similar circumstances be imputed as a crime to any people. But who brings forward this charge of perjury?—he who desires the whole French nation to violate the oaths they have so recently taken, and who makes the success of his project depend entirely upon that national act of perjury.

"We are told that Bonaparte has declared it as his opinion, that the two governments of Great Britain and of France cannot exist together. After the treaty of Campo Formio, he sent two confidential persons (Berthier and Monge) to the directory, to say so in his name. Supposing it to be true that this absurd and puerile assertion was actually made by Bonaparte, has not the right-honorable gentleman in this house said the same thing?—in this, at least, they resemble one another; they have both made this assertion, and they are perhaps the only two persons upon earth who have adopted this sentiment. If we are to reason on facts instead of assertion, I should think it equally the interest and the inclination of Bonaparte to make peace. His measure of military glory is full: it may be tarnished by a reverse of fortune, and can hardly be increased by any new laurels: peace would secure

to him what he has achieved, and fix the inconstancy of fortune.—Sir, I have done. I have told you my opinion. I think you ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit, answer to the overture which was fairly and handsomely made to you. If you were desirous that the negotiation should have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have told Bonaparte so; but I believe you were afraid of his agreeing to the proposal. I know that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be for peace as much now as in 1797; and I know that it is only by public opinion, not by a sense of duty, not by the inclination of their minds, that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace."

On the conclusion of this memorable speech, the house divided; in favor of the address, 262 against 66 voices. But the impression made upon the majority of the members, by the arguments of Mr. Fox, was too forcible to be concealed. The political adherents of Mr. Pitt could not desert him upon a question of this momentous nature, without imminently endangering the tenure by which he held his ministerial office: this alone prevented his being left in a very small minority; the furious faction of the alarmists or Burkites only, in reality, coinciding in sentiment with the ministers on this

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occasion. The tale of French aggression and French atrocity had now been so often repeated, that no power of language could revive the original impression. The feelings of the nation at large, on this question of common humanity and common sense, were in perfect unison with those really entertained, and indeed very openly avowed, by their representatives; and it was with irresistible conviction felt, that, under the influence of the present rash and revengeful system, it was in vain to hope for the restoration of the blessings of peace.

The administration becomes unpopular.

It could scarcely be imagined that an event so disgraceful and disastrous to the British arms as the capitulation of the Helder, should pass entirely unnoticed by parliament.

Motion of Mr. Sheridan for an inquiry into the causes of the failure of the expedition to Holland negatived.

On the sixteenth of February, Mr. Sheridan moved for an inquiry into the causes of the failure of the expedition to Holland, which he supported in a very animated speech. He animadverted on the precipitate adjournment of parliament previous to the recess, as done with a manifest view to stifle all investigation at a time when the disgrace was recent and the feelings of the country warm. He ridiculed, with much pleasantry, the confidence expressed by Mr. Pitt in the success of the expedition, founded on *his knowledge* of HUMAN NATURE. At the breaking out of the present war, the Dutch, against

their own wishes—nay, against the remonstrances of many friends of the house of Orange, had been compelled by us to abandon their beloved neutrality, though we had been found unequal to their protection at the moment of difficulty. He treated with contempt the specious language of the declarations addressed to the Dutch nation during the late invasion, in which so much was said to them of the blessings to be derived from returning order, religion, and regular government. Instead of all these reflexions, with the wise exhortations annexed, to forget and forgive, if the minister had said, in plain terms, *we will give you back your colonies*, the argument would have been understood, and the effect might have been favorable; but, in the insidious language of the proclamation, they saw nothing more than a request to forget they ever had any colonies, and to forgive us for taking them! Mr. Sheridan, in a more serious strain, declared it to be arrogant and presumptuous to embark in such a design upon vain speculation. Mr. Pitt ought to have acted upon authentic information and practical grounds, and not upon his visionary theories of HUMAN NATURE, of which he understood so little.

This motion of inquiry, like all the preceding ones, was resisted and over-ruled. Mr. Dundas maintained, that the expedition in question had

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been eminently successful: the *first* object of it was to rescue the United Provinces from the tyranny of France, and to accomplish the eventual restoration of the stadtholder; the *second*, to diminish the efficient force of the enemy, by gaining possession of the Dutch fleet; and the *third*, by a powerful invasion on the coast of Holland to divert the pursuits and disconcert the plans of the foe in other quarters: and two of these objects, he contended, had been effectually obtained.

Mr. Sheridan, in reply, exposed the incompatibility of these pretences. "If the object of the expedition was to restore the stadtholder, it could not be a branch of the same project to rob him of his fleet." As for the diversion, of which the advantage was so much boasted, Mr. Sheridan observed, that "Holland was a country beyond all others the worst calculated for any such purpose; for the very nature of it enabled an inferior body of troops successfully to resist a very superior enemy. In this case, having landed a mighty force, we had been baffled in all our designs by the inferior numbers of the adversary; and, escaping back with difficulty, and after sustaining great loss, we were now told that the expedition was successful, being designed by the planners of it merely for a DIVERSION!" The house at length divided—for the motion, 216; against it, 45.

On the 12th of February, the house being in a committee of supply, 192,000 men were voted for the land service of the year, together with 120,000 seamen and marines; the expense of maintaining which, including the ordnance and plantation service, amounted to upwards of twenty-six millions; and, together with a vote of credit for three millions, exchequer-bills three millions, subsidies and extraordinary services, made the whole supply voted, little less than forty millions.

Enormous supplies voted.

The ways and means were, in the first place, a loan of 18,500,000*l.* of which 13,500,000*l.* were to be charged upon the income-tax, already loaded with the several sums of eight and eleven millions, for the interest and principal of which it stood deeply mortgaged.

The next resource was the produce of the income-tax for the year, now reduced, according to Mr. Pitt's own calculation (deducting the sum of 1,700,000*l.* for the interest due on a capital of thirty-two millions and a half funded on the credit of it, and converted into fifty-six millions three per cent. annuities), to 5,300,000*l.* or, in other words, about half its original estimate. The consolidated fund he reckoned at about four millions and a half: land-tax, malt-tax, lottery, and tax upon imports and exports, about four millions; exchequer-bills, three millions; and ad-

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vance of three millions, bearing no interest for six years, from the bank, as a premium for the renewal of the charter for a term of twenty-one years; and other incidental sources of revenue, made up the deficiency.

For every 100*l.* paid into the exchequer, the subscribers to the loan agreed to accept 157*l.* three per cent. stock, which had so far recovered from its late excessive depression. But the present novel plan of supply was in this view most alarming, that a tax beyond all example of former times despotic and oppressive, must, on the system now adopted, inevitably be rendered perpetual. This, however, was not all: for, after the first ten per cent. of the national income was mortgaged to the utmost value, which would quickly be the case, nothing better could be hoped from the daring improvidence of the present minister, than the imposition, and consequent mortgage, in the same manner, of a second and third ten per cent.; and thus, in succession, till the government had absorbed not only all the affluence of the country, but even the necessary means of subsistence. If the war must at all events continue, to raise ten millions within the year by war-taxes was a plan both noble and just; but to throw out such an idea by way of a LURE, and then to mortgage beyond any rational prospect of redemption the taxes so im-

posed, was a new and alarming species of political delinquency. Instead, however, of being roused to exertion, the house seemed, in consequence of the desperate situation to which the minister had reduced the affairs of the country, to take refuge in a state of stupefaction; and, to spare the ungrateful labor of thinking, they still resigned themselves and the nation implicitly (though confidence was no more) to the same disastrous direction. Mr. Tierney compared the extraordinary expedient of obtaining the sum of three millions by a renewal of the bank charter, of which twelve years were still unexpired, to raising money upon *post obits;* and Mr. Jolliffe complained bitterly of the deception practised upon the house and the country, by a mode of procedure which inevitably led to a perpetuation of the income-tax.

Subsidy to the emperor.

On the 17th of February, Mr. Pitt moving for an advance of 500,000*l.* to the emperor, it was opposed with great energy by Mr. Tierney; who conjured the house to recollect that the war had now continued seven years, at the expense of 200 millions, on the pretext of its being just and necessary. Just it could not be, if the object of it was to force upon the French nation the restoration of the Bourbons; nor necessary, because we had refused to negotiate when the opportunity was presented to us. If this sum were

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granted, much larger demands would follow; and thus we were to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no one plain, satisfactory, intelligible, reason could be assigned, and he defied the minister to name it.

Mr. Pitt rose, and declared that he found no difficulty in stating the object of the war in a single sentence, nay, even in a single word—SECURITY. It was also more than this: it was security against a danger the greatest that had ever threatened the world: a danger which never existed before in any period of society; which had been felt and resisted by all the nations of Europe, but by none so successfully and uniformly as our own. Our resistance had not been confined to external force, it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures, to oppose jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country. How was it discovered that jacobinism had disappeared in France? It was now centred in one man, nursed in its school, who had gained celebrity under its auspices, and was at once the CHILD and the CHAMPION of its atrocities—BONAPARTE. Our security in negotiation was to be this man, who was at the present moment the organ of all that was destructive in the revolution. Granting that two hundred millions had been expended for the words "just and necessary," they had been ex-

pended for the best of causes—to protect the dearest rights, to defend the most valuable privileges,—the laws, the liberties, the happiness, of our country; and, for such objects, as much more would we spend, and as much more could we find.

Mr. Tierney replied, that *security* was the watch-word with ministers; and the object of the war was now almost openly avowed to be the restoration of Gallic royalty. The estates of those whose ancestors had placed the present family on the British throne, were to be taken from them in order to reinstate the Bourbons in the possession of the crown of France.

Sir William Pulteney declared, that the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures had been dissatisfactory to his mind. Could any one pronounce what the effect of that negotiation might have been? Perhaps the French would have given up Belgium. As to the restoration of the Bourbons, he totally reprobated the idea. He feared that ministers were very defective in their information, taking their reports from persons who were exiled from their country, and biassed in their judgments. He lamented our refusal to listen to the proposals of Bonaparte, as a great error in administration; and, as he considered the measure before the house as a part of the same system, he must vote against it.

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After a vehement debate, the question was put, and carried by the usual majority.

Habeas-corpus act again suspended.

On the annual motion for the renewal of the habeas-corpus suspension act in the course of this month, a warm debate ensued; and it was declared by Mr. Sheridan to be better to repeal the habeas-corpus act at once, than thus insidiously to undermine it. No conspiracy, as ministers well knew, at this time existed; and it was monstrous, that persons should be confined for so many years without being brought to trial, or scarcely knowing of what they were accused.

Sir Francis Burdett said, he had not language to express his feelings on these repeated suspensions of the habeas-corpus. When that act was removed, little difference was left between our own and any other government. He solemnly protested his belief, that ministers were afraid to bring the persons accused to trial. He affirmed, that, so far as he could judge, their innocence was their crime; and who, he asked, could doubt of their being brought to trial, if any traitorous design could be proved against them? He *demanded* a trial for them; and enforced this natural claim of justice, by relating to the house divers horrid abuses of power, which, to his own knowledge, had been committed under the suspension.—"What," exclaimed this ardent patriot, "would the immortal Chatham have said, on the recital

of such oppression? The thunder of his eloquence would have shaken the house. In his estimation, the cottage of the peasant was as sacred as the palace of the king. He would have raised a storm, from which ministers would gladly have screened their heads."

The motion being carried, the debate was revived on a following day with increase of indignation. Mr. Jolliffe complained, that all who differed from the minister were branded as jacobins; and that country gentlemen, exerting themselves for the good of their constituents, met from his hands with treatment the most illiberal. He never would consent that a bill of this high and momentous import, should, like the mutiny or land-tax bill, be suffered to pass as a matter of course; and, in conclusion, he moved a postponement of the second reading for six weeks, for the purpose of receiving such information from ministers as might justify the measure. Mr. Hobhouse, in allusion to the case of colonel Despard, asked whether this was proper treatment, he would not say for a gentleman of rank in the army, but for any person unconvicted, untried? To grasp at illegitimate power by a system of terror, had been the leading feature of the present administration. Even that dangerous degree of authority vested in ministers by this and former bills similar in their nature, had been ex-

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ceeded. These bills conferred no power of commitment without previous information upon oath, though it afterwards deprived the person so committed of the privilege of habeas corpus; but in fact, many had been sent to prison on a mere warrant of the privy-council, and a bill of INDEMNITY would one day be found necessary to screen these violators of the law from the punishment they so justly merited.

In the house of lords this measure was again vigorously opposed, by the lords King and Holland; but it finally passed both houses by great and decided majorities.

Statement of the affairs of India.

Towards the end of March, Mr. Dundas stated, in a committee of the whole house, in magnificent language as usual, the wonderfully prosperous condition of the East-India company. He admitted the increase of debts and the decrease of *assets* in India and China to the amount of 2,700,000*l.*; but the increase of *assets* and the decrease of debt in Europe he computed at about 3,800,000*l.*; so that the company had gained, upon the balance, a million and upwards, in the course of the year: *but the charges of the late war were not yet ascertained!*

Mr. Tierney, on the 5th of June, moved for leave to bring in a bill repealing the tax upon income from and after the 5th of April of the ensuing year. This gentleman declared, that, odious and

oppressive as the tax upon income was, he would not, from the urgent necessity of circumstances, object to its being continued from year to year during the war; but that, as a war-tax, its operation ought to be temporary, and that it should be annually voted. To the principle of raising a large sum within the year he readily acceded; but he was of opinion that less arbitrary means might be devised for carrying that plan into effect, than either of the two projects which had been recommended by the chancellor of the exchequer, and which had both proved miserably deficient in their expected products, grounded upon the estimates of the minister. The motion was negatived, after a debate of some length, by 104 to 24 voices.

Project of union revived.

The virtual rejection of the Irish parliament, during the last session, of the overture made by Great Britain towards the accomplishment of a legislative and incorporative union of the two kingdoms, would have sufficed to deter a less daring and persevering minister than Mr. Pitt, from the prosecution of so great and difficult a project; but, whether right or wrong, it was the characteristic of his genius to arm and fortify itself against all resistance, to contemn all obstacles, and to defy all opposition. From the manner in which the business was resumed in the English parliament subsequent to its dismission by the Irish house of commons, and especially from the

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strong and explicit terms in which this great measure was recommended by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland at the close of the last session, it was fully apparent that the whole weight and influence of government would be exerted during the present session, to effect this grand, and in the general opinion highly beneficial, purpose. Of the means which were employed in the course of the recess to facilitate the intended arrangement, future historians may be better enabled to speak. The conciliatory policy of the lord-lieutenant—the guarded, and even respectful, demeanor in relation to Ireland which on this occasion marked the conduct of the English administration—the real and solid advantages of the measure proposed—the equity of the conditions offered—the conviction produced in the minds of many, by recent events, that the continuance of the old system tended only to the perpetuation of discord, oppression, and misery—all concurred and co-operated with the private and separate interests of numerous and powerful individuals to the final success of this arduous attempt, opposed and impeded as it was by the most formidable obstacles.

Meeting of the Irish parliament, Jan. 1800.

On the 15th of January, 1800, the Irish parliament met at Dublin. In the speech delivered by lord Cornwallis on that occasion, he made no allusion to the project in contemplation. As it

was, however, well known that it would at a very early period be revived, a resolution was taken, by the members in the contrary interest, to oppose it *in limine;* and, when the address of thanks was proposed by lord Loftus, sir Lawrence Parsons moved an amendment, annexing to the wish of perpetuating a constitutional connexion with Great Britain, an equal solicitude for the preservation of an independent resident parliament. A violent debate ensued, which was rendered very memorable by a most able and ardent speech of Mr. Grattan, who supported the amendment with all the powers of his superior talents and eloquence. In the first part of this elaborate harangue, he endeavored to prove that the final adjustment of 1782 excluded the idea of any ulterior arrangement; and he absolutely denied the competency of parliament to annihilate its own existence. The incompatibility of independent legislatures in the same empire, had been, he affirmed, the doctrine which lost America; and an imperial parliament was once more to take its bloody station in the pages of the minister. "How strange were the ideas which the minister entertained of the functions of an Irish parliament!—it was incompetent to regulate the commerce of the country—it was omnipotent to overturn her constitution; it was inadequate to protect—almighty only to subvert and destroy.

Eloqnent speech of Mr. Grattan.

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To rely upon the case of the regency as an argument in favor of the union, was, Mr. Grattan said, unpardonable in the British minister, who alone had created the difficulty, by his broad and unqualified declaration that the parliaments of both countries had a right to supply, at their discretion, the defect in the executive power; in other words, that each might establish a temporary republic. Ireland refused to be guided by these principles of democracy, and displayed her fidelity and attachment to monarchy, by transferring the executive power entire to the next heir. The perplexity and danger arose from the deviation of the minister from this straight-forward path of safety.

"The constitution which he is now attempting to destroy, is one of the pillars of the empire; dear from its violation—dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts. It is the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty; her temple of fame, as well of freedom. But the field of imagination was that in which the British minister delighted to rove; and, by holding out visionary prospects and promises, he hoped ultimately to accomplish his designs. Where, indeed, he is to extinguish our power of legislation, to abrogate our highest court of judicature, to extort from us, by a financial agreement, a perpetual tribute, he is altogether a

matter-of-fact man: but, when he is to provide a compensation for all this prodigality of concession, then he becomes wholly poetic and prophetic; Fancy gives him her wand—Amalthea takes him by the hand—Ceres follows in his train: the English capitalist and manufacturer will leave his mines, his machinery, his comforts, and his habits; he will conquer his prejudices and prepossessions, and come over to Ireland with a generous design to give her commerce for her lost constitution. A man who reasons, may be answered by reasoning; but the minister in all this does not argue, but foretel: now you cannot confute a prophet—you can only disbelieve him. It forms the genuine harmony of the state, when the rich encourage and employ the poor, and the poor with confidence look up to the watchful care and guardian protection of the rich; both concurring to the same end, form that grand column of society, 'where all below is strength, and all above is grace.' How does the minister's plan accomplish this? he takes away our gentlemen and nobles, and supplies their place by English factors and commercial adventurers. This minister proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country—to proclaim an utter incapacity to make laws for your own people;—and is this no attack upon the honor and dignity of the kingdom? The thing

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which he proposes to buy, cannot be sold,—LIBERTY! and his propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonor. I have heard of parliaments impeaching ministers, but here is a minister who impeaches parliament; nay, the parliamentary constitution itself: and he proposes to you to substitute the British parliament in your place; to destroy the body which restored your liberties, and to restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony."

This brilliant declamation was answered, in a speech less eloquent than argumentative, by the new chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry; and the debate was prolonged till ten the next morning, when there appeared to be 96 votes only in favor of the amendment, to 138 who supported the address in its original form.

Message from the lord-lieutenant recommendatory of a union.

On the 5th of February, a message from the lord-lieutenant was delivered to each house of parliament, intimating the king's desire that the resolutions passed by the parliament of Great Britain should be submitted to the attentive consideration of the Irish legislature; and expressing his hope that the great object to which they related, might be matured and completed by the wisdom of the two parliaments, and the

loyal concurrence of the people. On this great occasion, the secretary of state, lord Castlereagh, to whose able management the business was entrusted, arose, and in a well-digested speech, entered into a very comprehensive view of the measure proposed, recommending it by arguments analogous to those of Mr. Pitt and other advocates of the union in the British parliament. On the other hand, those arguments were contested, with at least equal ability, by the principal leaders of the opposition.

—Violent debates on the subject.

Mr. Grattan declared, that the end and design of the measure was no less than to restore the domination of the British parliament, which had abdicated Ireland, and to depose the Irish parliament, which had saved her; but that, in the prosecution of this plan, the minister had gigantic difficulties to encounter. It was incumbent upon him to explain away the tyrannic acts of a century; to apologise for the lawless and oppressive proceedings of England, which had counteracted the bounty of Providence towards Ireland, and had kept her in a state of thraldom and misery. He again denied the competence of parliament to assent to an act which would involve in it the surrender of the constitution. Parliament exercised only a delegated authority, and had no right to assign over what it held merely in trust for the community. This, he

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said, was the doctrine of Hooker, Locke, and Grotius. Mr. Pitt, however, thought differently; and he, who denied to France the right to alter her government, maintains the omnipotence of the parliament of this country to annul the constitution of Ireland.

Mr. Corry, in reply, observed, that in every constitution a power must subsist for the correction of the evils incident to human policy; that this must be the supreme power of the state; and that in our constitution the parliament had this remedial authority, because the exercise of it by the people at large was impracticable. That a social compact paramount to the constitution really existed, he did not believe; and the propagators of such a notion, he said, ought to state when or by whom the agreement was adjusted, where it was deposited or *recorded*, and by what means and on what occasions it was to supercede the authority of parliament. In the case of the Scottish union, he contended that no special authority had been given to the northern parliament, and that it was fully competent to accomplish that transaction without any such extraordinary delegation.

Mr. Saurin, a lawyer of eminence, maintained, with Mr. Grattan, the existence of a compact between the government and the people, which, he said, was to be found *recorded* in the breast

of every honest senator; and he trusted that every member would seriously reflect on the duties implied in it. The trustees of the people had no right to destroy that which they were delegated to preserve.—On moving the first resolution, after a vehement debate, the numbers were in favor of the court 158, against it 115. The tumults of the populace of Dublin were upon this occasion very alarming; and a military guard of cavalry was found necessary to preserve the parliamentary advocates of the union from personal insult and violence. BOOK XXXIII. 1800.

Able speech of the lord-chancellor.

On the 10th of February, the business was once more introduced into the house of peers by the earl of Clare, late lord Fitzgibbon, chancellor of Ireland, in a speech of extraordinary ability, and, in certain points of view, of distinguished excellence; but contaminated by a wretched spirit of bigotry and malignity, and abounding with personalities unknown to the dignified and decorous proceedings of the British house of peers, and which it would pollute the page of history to notice. On moving the first resolution, this nobleman declared himself "satisfied, in his judgment and conscience, from an attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, that the existence of her independent parliament had gradually led to her recent and bitter calamities,"

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And he avowed that he had, for the preceding seven years, pressed upon ministers the urgent necessity of union, as the last remaining resource to preserve this country to the British crown. The noble earl then entered into an historical deduction of the political connexion subsisting between the two countries from the era of the invasion of Henry II. The first English settlements in Ireland he truly affirmed to have been merely colonial; and for centuries the English pale was not extended beyond its original limits. So late as the reign of Henry VIII. it consisted of four counties only. The common observation of the country was, that they who dwelt by west of the river Barrow, dwelt by west of the law.

"The early policy of the English government certainly was to discourage all connexion of the colony with the native Irish. The statute of Kilkenny, enacted by the provincial assembly of the pale, in the reign of Edward III., prohibited marriage or *gossipred* with the Irishry, or claiming the benefit of the Brehon law by any person of English blood, under the penalties of treason. Thus the colony of the pale was implicated in ceaseless warfare, not only with the native Irish, but with every person of English blood who had settled beyond its limits. The taunting answer of Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, to

the lord deputy, who applied to him to receive a sheriff commissioned by Henry VIII., sufficiently explains the state of the country, and the authority of the king's government in it. 'Your sheriff shall be welcome to me; but, if he come, send me his *eric* (the price of his head), that, if my people slay him, I may fine them accordingly.'—Queen Elizabeth, after a difficult and bloody war of seven years, effected the complete reduction of the island; and the accession of James I. was the true era of national connexion. Then, for the first time, was the spirit of resistance to the English power broken down, and the English laws universally acknowledged. The old proprietors, who had led the revolt, were expelled and replaced by a new set of adventurers from England and Scotland, all protestants, who, with a new religion, brought over with them a new source of contention with the inhabitants.

"The distinction of Englishry and Irishry had been nearly superceded in the time of Elizabeth by a new schism of protestant and papist; but, from the first introduction of this protestant colony by James I., the old distinctions of native Irish and degenerate English, and English of blood and English of birth, were lost and forgotten; all rallied from that time round the banner of the popish faith; and from that day

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all have clung to the popish religion, as a common bond of union, and an hereditary pledge of animosity to British settlers and the British nation. The physical consequence of the country was arrayed against the British colony and the English government: the king was therefore driven to the necessity of fortifying his protestant colony, by investing them exclusively with the artificial power of a separate government, which, on every principle of self-interest and self-preservation, they were bound to administer in concert with England. The *steady* government of Strafford kept down those animosities which had continued with unabated rancor till his time; but, at his removal, the old inhabitants, taking advantage of the weakness and distraction of the English government, broke out into open hostility and rebellion. After a fierce and bloody contest of eleven years, in which the face of the whole island was desolated, the insurgents were subdued, and suffered all the calamities which could be inflicted on the vanquished party. The possessions of the ancient proprietors were seized and given up to the conquerors, or distributed among the adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expences of the war. Thus, a new colony of settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England (many of them infected with the leaven of

democracy), poured into Ireland, and were put into possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants. After the expulsion of James II. from the throne, the Irish Romanists made another effort for the recovery of their long-lost power, in which they were once more defeated by an English army; and the relics of Irish property became the subject of fresh confiscation. The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the world. If the wars of England, carried on here from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilised nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British empire. But the continued and persevering resistance of Ireland to the British crown, during the whole of the last century, was mere rebellion; and the municipal law of England attached to the crime. What, then, was the situation of Ireland at the revolution? and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers, who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title; and from their

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first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation. What, then, was the security of the English settlers for their physical existence at the revolution? and what is the security of their descendants at this day?—the powerful and commanding protection of Great Britain. 'If, by any fatality, this fails, you are at the mercy of the old inhabitants of the island." Having deduced from these considerations, in a manner very convincing, the urgent political necessity of a legislative and incorporative union, his lordship adverted to what had so often been styled the final adjustment of 1782; and demonstrated, incontrovertibly, that the adjustment in question was not considered, even at the period when it took place, as a transaction which in any manner precluded an ulterior arrangement. On the contrary it appeared that the duke of Portland, lord-lieutenant, in concert with the then English ministers, lord Rockingham, lord Shelburne, and Mr. Fox, had it in contemplation to bring forward an act, to be adopted by the legislatures of both kingdoms, by which the superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of state and general commerce, should be virtually and effectually acknowledged. The marquis of Rockingham himself, on the 25th

of May (1782), thus writes to the lord-lieutenant: "The essential points on the part of Ireland now acceded to, will, I trust, establish a perfect cordiality between the two countries; and, as there cannot now exist any ground of contest or jealousy between them on matters of right, the only object left for both will be how finally to arrange, settle, and adjust, all matters whereby the union of power, strength, and mutual and reciprocal advantage will be best permanently fixed." This design was relinquished merely and solely from the apprehended inability of government to carry it into effect. And on the 22d of June the duke of Portland declares to lord Shelburne, "the disappointment and mortification he suffered by the unexpected change in those dispositions which had authorised him to entertain the hopes he had perhaps too sanguinely expressed."—"But," said this able orator, "admitting, in contradiction to these *damning proofs*, that this was considered by both countries as a final adjustment, if practice and experience have proved that it has sown the seeds of ceaseless contention and periodical rebellion, is there a principle of sound policy or common sense to preclude a revision of it? We acknowledge the dependence of the crown of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain. But there is a distinct parliament in each country,

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exercising all legislative functions without restriction, not only in respect of municipal regulations, but in every branch of imperial policy. Between two countries equal in power such a connexion could not subsist for an hour; and therefore its existence must depend upon the admitted inferiority and marked subordination of one of them. Ireland is that inferior country; and, call her constitution by what high-sounding title you please, hers must be a provincial government of the worst description—a government maintained, not by the avowed exercise of legitimate authority, but by a permanent and commanding influence of the English executive, or rather of the English cabinet, in the councils of Ireland, as a substitute for it. Such a connexion is calculated to generate national discontent and jealousy, and to perpetuate faction and misgovernment in the inferior country. English influence is the inexhaustible theme for popular irritation and distrust of every factious demagogue who fails in the struggle to make himself the necessary instrument of it.—With respect to the old code of popery laws, there cannot be a doubt that it ought to have been repealed. It was impossible that any country could continue to exist under a code by which a majority of the inhabitants were cut off from the rights of property.

But in the relaxation of these laws there was a fatal error. It should have been taken up systematically by the ministers of the crown, and not left in the hands of every individual who chose to take possession of it as an engine of power or popularity. If the catholics of Ireland are not satisfied with the indulgence which they have already experienced, let their further claims be discussed upon their solid merits in the imperial parliament, where the question will not be influenced by passion and prejudice; and where it will be gravely considered whether they may be yielded with safety to the British monarchy. My unaltered opinion is, that, so long as human nature and the popish religion continue to be what I know they are, a conscientious popish ecclesiastic never will become a well-attached subject to a protestant state; and that the popish clergy must always have a commanding influence on every member of that communion.—It is, I know, said by some, 'Let the British minister leave us to ourselves, and we are very well as we are.' Very well as we are! Gracious God! of what materials must the heart of that man be, who knows the state of this country, and will coldly tell us we are very well as we are! We have not three years' certain redemption from bankruptcy, nor one hour's security against the renewal of extermi-

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nating civil war. Session after session have you been compelled to enact laws of unexampled rigor and novelty, to repress the horrible excesses of the great mass of your people; and the fury of murder, and pillage, and desolation, have so out-run all legislative exertion, that you have been at length driven to the hard necessity of breaking down the pale of the municipal law, and putting your country under the ban of military government. Look to your civil and religious dissensions, to the rage of political faction, and the torrents of human blood that stain the face of the land, and where is the man who will not listen with complacency to any propositions that can be made to him for composing the distractions and alleviating the miseries of this devoted country?"—The noble speaker then proceeded to the enumeration of those blessings which might reasonably be expected from a perfect union with Great Britain. "By union, the resources of Ireland must necessarily increase; by union, Ireland will participate in British capital and British industry; and, until we can find employment for our poor, and teach them to feel and value the comforts of life, it is in vain to expect that they will be reclaimed from barbarism. If you do not qualify the mass of your people for the enjoyment of sober liberty, you will never teach them to ap-

preciate the blessings of it. But we are told, that, by giving up our separate government and separate parliament, we sacrifice national dignity and independence. When I look at the squalid misery, and profound ignorance, and barbarous manners, and brutal ferocity, of the mass of the Irish people, I am sickened at this rant of Irish dignity and independence. Does the dignity of Ireland consist in the depression of the people and the exaltation of a factious and rapacious oligarchy, who consider the Irish nation as their political inheritance? I wish to withdraw the higher orders of my countrymen from the narrow and corrupted sphere of Irish politics, and to direct their attention to objects of national importance; to teach them to improve the natural energies, and extend the resources, of their country—above all, seriously to exert their best endeavours to civilise the lower orders of the people; to inculcate in them habits of religion, and morality, and industry, and due subordination; to relieve their wants, and correct their excesses. Unless you will civilise your people, it is in vain to look for national tranquillity and contentment.—But you are told that a union will drive the nobility and gentry of Ireland from their own country. Look to the number of Irish emigrants who now crowd every village in Great Britain, and have been driven to seek an asylum

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there from the brutal fury of the Irish people, from Irish faction and Irish treason; and then say whether the evil of emigration can ever be greater than it is at this day. If we are to live in a perpetual storm here, what gentleman, who has the means of living out of this country, will be induced to remain in it? I do most solemnly declare, that no earthly consideration, short of a strong sense of duty, should have induced *me* to remain an eye-witness of the scenes of folly and madness, and horrors of every description, in which I have lived for some years back; and that I had rather give up every prospect which remains to me in this country, and begin a new course in my old age, than submit to the same misery and disgust for the remnant of my life. If you wish to stop emigration, you must enable sober and rational men to live in peace at home. It is with cordial sincerity, and a full conviction that an entire and perfect union with Great Britain will give to this my native country lasting peace, and security for her religion, her laws, her liberty, and her property; an increase of strength, riches, and trade; and the final extinction of national jealousy and animosity; that I now propose that important measure to this grave assembly for their adoption. If I live to see it completed, to my latest hour I shall feel an honorable pride

in the share which I may have in contributing to effect it."

No peer in opposition ventured on this occasion formally to enter the lists against this redoubtable orator. The lords Dillon, Powerscourt, Farnham, and Bellamont, however, declared in successive speeches their disapprobation of the measure; which was defended by the law-lords Carleton and Kilwarden, and various other peers: after which, the question upon the first resolution was put, and passed the house by a majority of seventy-five to twenty-six voices.

The succeeding resolutions were in the course of a few weeks carried through this house with the same or greater facility. The discussion of the fourth resolution, upon the 22d of March, was signalised by a masterly speech of the lord chief-baron Yelverton, whose characteristic liberality had happily preserved him throughout the late scenes of distraction from the disgrace of perverting his talents to serve the purposes of any party. "The great value of the arrangement of 1782, which he had assisted in forming," his lordship said, "was, that it placed the Irish on a proud footing of national and legislative independence, and enabled them to say upon what terms they were willing to unite; whereas, if that adjustment had not occurred, they would, perhaps, before this time,

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have yielded to an union of subjection, not an union of equality. Their independence had never since been violated; and they were not now desired to give up their legislative rights, but to perpetuate them by union. Their liberties would not be annihilated, but would be rendered immortal, by being placed on the same broad base with those of Great Britain. The Hibernian parliament would so far be annihilated as to be no longer a distinct legislature; and so would that of Great Britain also; but out of the two a third would arise, neither British nor Irish, but a compound body, more competent than either to promote and secure the freedom, the prosperity, and the happiness, of the whole. If an idle fondness for independency had prevailed from the beginning, no political association could have been framed, and mankind must have remained in a state of nature. But prudence and policy taught two or more families to form a society, societies to form a nation, and small nations to form a great one, by sacrificing distinct independence to common security. The condition of Ireland was miserable when it was divided into petty principalities inflamed with the pride of independence: disorder and dissension prevailed; and scenes of rapine and bloodshed were deplorably frequent: but such a state was not peculiar to Ireland,

being general among petty dynasties. In the opinion of some politicians, the existing federal alliance between Great Britain and Ireland might be made to operate as a sufficient remedy for all the disorders of this country. But the history of the world proves the inadequacy of federal connexion to the purposes of real union; for the jealousy of the weaker state would always prompt it to separate itself from the stronger. An incorporative union could alone prevent the effects of this jealousy." His lordship asserted the perfect competence of the two parliaments to enact the proposed measure, if conducive to the welfare and happiness of the two nations. To doubt the competency of the two legislatures to frame such a law, was to doubt their competency to answer the ends of their institution. —The question was then put, and carried by a great majority, that twenty-eight temporal and four spiritual peers should represent Ireland in the imperial parliament; with an amendment, importing that, on the extinction of three Irish peerages, one might be created, till the number was reduced to a hundred, and afterwards one for every failure.

In the course of these debates three different protests, drawn with vigor and ability, were entered upon the journals of the house, signed by the duke of Leinster, the marquis of Down-

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shire, the lords Pery and Moira, the bishop of Down, and about twenty other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at these proceedings.

On the 17th of February, the house of commons being in a general committee, Mr. Corry, chancellor of the exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the measure, blended however, agreeably to the too-frequent custom of the Irish parliament, with virulent party and personal reflexions. Mr. Grattan retorting in high and bitter language, a vehement altercation arose, which was, in the sequel, productive of a challenge from the chancellor of the exchequer to that gentleman; and a duel ensued, in which Mr. Corry was wounded. though not dangerously.

In the same debate general Hutchinson offered to the house some excellent observations. "The co-equality of the parliament of Ireland," he affirmed, "with that of Great Britain, was a dream of fancy which would never be realised. Any attempt to make a practical use of their independence would expose the subsisting connexion with Britain to the risk of dissolution. Surely it would be better to be a component part of a free and flourishing empire, than to be a weak and petty state, convulsed with faction, or the deluded

victim of treacherous allies. What is property without security? What is liberty when life is in danger, and when the house of a country-gentleman must be either his garrison or his tomb? All the arguments which he had heard against the union were addresses to the pride, the passions, or the prejudices, of an irritable nation, more accustomed to act from the impulse of quick feelings than from the dictates of sound discretion and sober reason. He admitted the necessity of preserving a sense of national dignity: it was the source of all pre-eminence, of all power, strength, and greatness. He considered this high sense of dignity as a noble passion, and wished it to rest upon a rational foundation. For the last six centuries Ireland had exhibited the melancholy picture of savage acrimony, barbarous discord; of a parliament fearless of the people, from whom it did not derive its origin; a triumphant aristocracy; and a government the most arbitrary and oppressive of any in Europe. Under such a mode of administration it was impossible to hope for love to the laws, zeal for the constitution, or attachment to the government. That pure and unsullied allegiance which is the vital principle of states, can only be expected by a good and beneficent government from a happy and contented people."

After a debate no less vehement than any of

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the former, the question of adjournment was put and negatived; and the 1st of January following fixed as the era whence the union of the two kingdoms was to date its commencement. From this period the debates, referring merely to the details of the treaty, cease to be the proper topics of general history. The last great effort on the part of the opposition was made on the 13th of March, when sir John Parnell moved that the king should be requested to convoke a new parliament before any final arrangement of union should be adopted. And sir Laurence Parsons, arguing in support of the motion, declared, "that, sensible as he was of the great influence of the crown in the choice of members, he was nevertheless willing to put the fate of the question on the election of a new parliament. The venerable Saurin, also, on the same side, urged the expediency of attending to the sense of the nation; and, in the spirit of Somers and Locke, he maintained that if laws should be enacted in opposition to the public will constitutionally expressed, they would not be obligatory, and the right of resistance would revert to the people. The solicitor-general, rising in the warmth of passion, accused the father of the bar of unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion: however, Mr. Egan not only vindicated the expression, but retorted the accusation, by charging the ministry with

unfurling the flag of prostitution and corruption. On the division there appeared 104 voices for the motion, against 150 who opposed it. On the 27th of March, the whole business being completed, lord Castlereagh moved an address to his majesty from the commons, declaratory of their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, "which they considered as wisely calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union of the two legislatures: that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered, were those articles which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments." This address being agreed to by the two houses, was immediately transmitted by marquis Cornwallis, the lord-lieutenant, to England.

Address from the Irish parliament, signifying their assent to the resolutions.

On the 2d of April the duke of Portland informed the British house of peers, by message from the king, "that it was with the most sincere satisfaction his majesty found himself enabled to communicate to this house the joint address of his lords and commons of Ireland, laying before his majesty certain resolutions which contain the terms proposed by them for an entire union between the two kingdoms.

Communicated to the British legislature.

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His majesty, therefore, earnestly recommended to the house to take all such further steps as might best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security of his majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire."

Proceedings thereupon.

An address of thanks having been returned, the papers were taken into consideration on the 21st of the same month; when lord Holland made an animated speech against the principle of the union; in which his lordship went over all the popular topics of opposition to the measure with considerable ability. He maintained the sacrifices made by Ireland of her national rights to be very great, while the advantages to be expected were few and distant. His lordship affirmed that too much stress had been placed, in the course of the argument, upon the salutary effects which had resulted to Scotland from her union with England; but, without entering into the discussion whether the benefits of an increased commerce, an improved system of agriculture, an enlarged scale of manufacture, were derivable from that union or from other causes, it was sufficient to remark that forty years had elapsed before Scotland began to reap any of those essential benefits. He therefore maintained, that speculative ideas of di-

tant advantages were but visionary and delusive, when set in competition with invaluable rights and the glory of independence. His lordship then adverted to the solemn assurance of ministers, "that, however desirable in their judgments the union of the two countries might appear, it ought not to be accepted unless it were the pure and spontaneous offer of the parliament of Ireland, uninfluenced by corruption or menace;"—appealing to the feelings of every individual whether it was doubted that corruption and intimidation had been practised to obtain a majority in both houses of the Irish parliament.

Lord Grenville expressed great surprise at being called upon that day to support a general principle which had been repeatedly, recently, and almost unanimously, recognised as constitutional by both houses of parliament. He challenged the noble lord to bring proof of the corruption and menace which he insinuated had been practised in order to obtain the assent of the Irish parliament; through the medium of which he sincerely believed that the people of Ireland had spoken their real sentiments respecting the proposed legislative union with Great Britain. He thought the noble lord had viewed the subject in a very narrow light with respect to the benefits derivable from the

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union. In looking at a matter of such magnitude, we were to consider, *first*, the immediate necessity which demanded it; and *next*, the ultimate benefit and security which would gradually arise from it to the whole extended empire. Whatever difference of opinion might exist respecting the present measure in other points of view, all must agree that the catholic claims would be best and most dispassionately discussed by an imperial parliament; and, moreover, that relief could more safely be granted by an imperial parliament than by a parliament of Ireland.

The objections of lord Holland being overruled, the house went into a committee; and the articles of the union, as framed by the Irish legislature, were severally discussed and agreed to by the house, with very trivial alterations, or any memorable opposition.

In the house of commons the same spirit of general acquiescence prevailed. The business was opened on the 21st of April by Mr. Pitt, in a speech recapitulating with much ability the arguments in favor of a union, and defending the terms of the resolutions framed by the Irish parliament, which he proposed and recommended to the adoption of the house. Mr. Grey denied the concurrence of the Irish nation in the measure of a legislative union. On the contrary,

he maintained that it was held in extreme and general abhorrence; and no less than twenty-seven counties had petitioned against it. He thought there was little analogy between the union now in contemplation, and that with Scotland, either in respect to the relative circumstances of the two countries, or to the terms of the compact; and he concluded by moving, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Irish union till the sentiments of the Irish people respecting that measure could be ascertained.

Lord Carysfort maintained the union to be wise, politic, and advantageous to both countries; and he said that there was unquestionably a great balance of the whole property of the Irish nation in favor of it.

The fact seems to have been, that the landed property of the kingdom was generally favorable to the measure; that the commercial interest was much divided; and that the city of Dublin, which feared to be degraded to the rank of a provincial capital, was violent in its opposition to the union. The bulk of the kingdom, consisting of the catholics, sullenly acquiesced. They indulged a faint hope that their condition might eventually be bettered by it; and they were

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thoroughly persuaded that it could not, by any change whatever, be made worse.

The motion of Mr. Grey was negatived by a vast majority of 236 to 30 voices.

On the discussion of the fourth article, Mr. Pitt moved an important and necessary additional clause, importing that not more than twenty of the entire number of representatives returned by Ireland should hold any place or pension under the crown—those above the prescribed number who most lately received their office, being obliged to make their option between that and their seat.

On the 28th of April the house proceeded to the consideration of the sixth article, respecting the fair participation of Ireland in commercial privileges; upon which occasion Mr. Law and Mr. Plumer appeared at the bar, as counsel for certain petitioners concerned in the woollen manufactures established in the north and west of England, who were filled with most alarming apprehensions at that part of the resolution which legalised the exportation of English wool in its raw state to Ireland. A capital of twenty millions, according to the statement made to the house, was engaged in the woollen trade; and, if the resolution now proposed were to pass into a law, this immense property might be nearly annihilated. A great number of wit-

nesses were examined in support of the allegations of the petition; and Mr. Wilberforce, as member for Yorkshire, expatiated largely on the pernicious consequences of permitting this proposed unlimited exportation. He allowed that to expect Ireland, as at present, to suffer the exportation of her wool to England, would be unreasonable, while that of English wool to Ireland was prohibited; but all that the English manufacturers asked was, that each country should henceforth enjoy the use of all the wool it might produce.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the radical policy of the union, so far as it regarded commerce, was to make the intercourse of the two countries, with respect to raw materials, and the whole of the trade between all parts of the united kingdom, as free as possible: and the tenor of the evidence confirmed him in the opinion that no necessity existed for making the article of wool an exception to this general rule. He believed that the unrestrained and mutual intercourse of the two countries, in this as in all other respects, would be found equally beneficial to both.

On the division, which took place in consequence of an amendment subsequently moved by Mr. Wilberforce, the numbers were, fifty-three only in its favor, against one hundred and fifty-three who gave their voices against it; and

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this was the greatest effort made on the part of those whose sentiments were hostile either to the general principle or to the specific terms of the union.

Early in May, the remaining articles having been severally investigated and approved by very decisive majorities, Mr. Pitt moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty, acquainting him that the house had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to see was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his majesty's message. This was carried without a division; and, the address and resolutions being forthwith transmitted to the house of peers, the assent of that assembly was obtained without any material alteration. And a joint address, as usual on great occasions, was presented to the throne. A bill, grounded upon the resolutions, was then introduced, and passed through both houses with great facility—the first day of the new year and the new century, JANUARY 1st, 1801, being the auspicious era from and after which the union of the two kingdoms was to take effect.

Act of Union finally passed—

On the 2d of July the royal assent was given to this important bill; and on the 29th of the same month the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty ex-

pressed the peculiar satisfaction with which he congratulated the two houses of parliament on the success of the steps which they had taken for effecting an entire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. "This great measure," said the monarch, "on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign; being persuaded, that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish, on the most solid foundations, the strength, prosperity, and power, of the whole empire."

—And ratified by the Irish parliament.

The Irish session also, which had been prolonged till the union-bill passed in England, in order to its ratification with the several alterations and additions made by the British parliament, with other necessary regulations respecting the election of the Irish representatives to the imperial legislature, was terminated on the 2d of August, and with it the existence of the parliament of Ireland. The chief-governor, lord Cornwallis, on this occasion, with great cordiality, communicated to the two houses "his majesty's warmest acknowledgments for the ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which they had so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative union

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between that kingdom and Great Britain." His excellency added his own personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, "which," he remarked, "had received the sanction of the sovereign on that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms;" and he expressed his firm conviction, "that it would remain in all future ages the fairest monument of his majesty's reign."

Military operations on the continent.

The military operations of the present year were no less important and interesting than its civil transactions. At the period when the court of London returned that haughty and wayward answer to the overture of the first consul which has been related, it had already become almost a matter of certainty that the emperor of Russia would withdraw himself from the coalition, his extreme ill-humor having displayed itself in various striking instances. The recent ill success of his arms, both in Germany and Holland, and the refusal of the court of Vienna to join in the *magnanimous declaration* of carrying on the war for the sole purpose of restoring the house of Bourbon, had wounded his pride and excited his anger. The supposed insult also offered to the Russian arms at the capture of the important maritime city of Ancona, by the Austrian general Frolich, who appeared, not without reason, jealous lest it should be forcibly occupied by the

The emperor of Russia withdraws from the coalition.

Russian troops; and the strange neglect by which the Russian auxiliaries in British pay had been sacrificed at Bergen; alienated the heart of the czar, if not from the cause *in which*, at least from the allies *with whom*, he was jointly engaged; and, in the month of January (1800), orders were dispatched to general Suwaroff to hasten his march into Poland.

The first consul had made to the court of Vienna specific overtures of pacification, nearly at the same time when he addressed a similar application to the court of London; and the imperial cabinet, far from returning a rude and insolent refusal, seemed long to hesitate on the propriety of entering into an amicable negotiation. The archduke Charles, a prince whose heroism in war was equalled only by his love of peace, exerted his utmost influence to give effect to the system of conciliation. The court of Berlin interposed also its friendly mediation for the same purpose. But the machinations of the English ministry, seconded by the persuasions of the empress, and supported by her minister, baron Thugut, finally and unfortunately prevailed.

The appeal being once more made to the sword, the French nation, with its characteristic gallantry, accepted the challenge. On the 7th of March, a consular message communicated the determination of the coalesced powers to the le-

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gislative body. "FRENCHMEN," say the consuls, "you have been anxious for peace—your government has desired it with still greater ardor: its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English ministry have betrayed the secret of their horrible policy—to dismember France, destroy its marine and its ports, strike it out from the map of Europe, or lower it to the rank of secondary powers. To obtain this horrible triumph it is that England scatters its gold, becomes prodigal of its promises, and multiplies its intrigues. The first consul has engaged, that, if circumstances required, he would place himself at the head of his troops; but that, in the midst of battles and triumphs, he would invoke Peace, and swear to fight only for the happiness of France and the repose of the world." A decree was then passed for the formation of an army of reserve at Dijon, of 60,000 men, which was to be commanded by the first consul in person.

First consul takes the field in person.

On the 25th of April, the left wing of the French army, under generals St. Susanne and St. Cyr, passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl and New Brisac. The chief command was entrusted to general Moreau, who, not being limited by specific instructions, had full scope to display his great military talents. St. Susanne had forced the Austrians back upon Offenburg; and St. Cyr,

Successes of Moreau in Germany.

having taken possession of Friburg, seemed to threaten the passes of the Black Forest. But this was only a deep feint. St. Susanne, repassing the river, ascended it on the French side, pursuing the track of the divisions of St. Cyr and of Moreau, who had passed the Rhine in person at Basle. By rapid movements a junction of the whole army was formed near Scaffhausen, where the river was again passed by general Lecourbe, at the head of the right wing, which, after reducing the strong fortress of Hohentweil, directed its course towards Kampton, a town in Upper Suabia, in the rear of the Austrian army, where the grand magazines were deposited. At the same time general Moreau advanced, May 3, with the main army, to Engen, in order to attack the Austrians in their forward position.

Maréchal Kray, the Austrian commander, though an officer of tried skill and bravery, had suffered himself to be completely deceived by the false demonstrations of St. Cyr and St. Susanne; and, confident of the enemy's intention to attack merely in front, he was astonished and alarmed to find himself in extreme danger of being surrounded and cut off from his magazines. Utterly unable, in the exposed situation which he now occupied, to resist these combined assaults, he retreated with great precipitation toward Moskirch; the magazines and stores being either

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conveyed away in haste, abandoned, or destroyed. In this new position, the Austrians were again attacked, May 5, by their indefatigable adversary. General Kray, however, defended himself gallantly, and the French were at length repulsed: nevertheless, on the next day the Austrian army prosecuted its retreat to Sigmaringen. A succession of bloody but indecisive engagements ensued;—but general Kray continued retreating, till he at last found shelter under the cannon of Ulm, an imperial city on the Danube; in the vicinity of which he remained for several weeks, strongly fortified and intrenched —his camp extending on both sides of the river, the navigation of which it commanded; while the French laid the circles of Suabia and Franconia under severe contribution.

The events of the war in Italy in the mean time attracted the attention of all Europe. It had been by some credulous persons expected that the entrance of the coalesced armies into Piedmont would have been signalised by the recal of the king of Sardinia; but the court of Vienna discovered no such intention, and probably felt no greater hesitation in appropriating to itself the spoils of the Sardinian monarchy than of the Venetian republic. Nothing now remained to the French but Genoa and the surrounding territory, which was regarded as a certain and

easy prey; and all Italy, at this moment, seemed to bend submissive under the Austrian yoke. After the brilliant campaign of Massena in Switzerland, that general was deemed by the first consul the fittest man to sustain the military honor of the French name in Lombardy, and to defend to the last extremity the posts still occupied by the French troops. From Switzerland he had repaired to Paris, where he conferred with the chief consul; and, proceeding through Lyons and Toulon to Marseilles, he arrived, February 9, at Genoa, where his presence infused new life into the exhausted and spiritless soldiery.

Massena takes the command in Italy;—

On the 5th of April, lord Keith, with the British fleet under his command, appeared in the Gulf of Genoa, and formed the blockade of the port; while the army of general Melas, about 50,000 in number, approached close to the city by land, and extended its front along the whole line occupied by the French. The siege, which was not that of a single town, but of a connected chain of posts, defended by an army, was carried on with great vigor; and, in a few days from its commencement, Vado fell into the hands of the Austrians; by which means the division under general Suchet, to the westward of that place, was completely isolated: and, shortly after, the famous pass of the Bochetta was forced by

—Besieged in Genoa.

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the Austrian general; and the French commander found himself under the necessity of contracting his line of defence, and fortifying himself more strongly within the walls of the city. The operations of the besieged were now confined to desperate *sorties;* in divers of which the French were successful; but their numbers rapidly diminished, and their stores and provisions were nearly exhausted. The army of Bonaparte was too remote to come in aid of Massena, before the last of his soldiers should have perished with hunger. And general Suchet, compelled to abandon his strong post of the Col de Tende, retreated to Nice, closely pursued by the enemy. Nice being found untenable, he passed the Var into France, leaving the Austrians in possession of the whole department of the Maritime Alps.

The city of Savona surrendered to the Austrians on the 15th of May; and the English fleet bombarded Genoa itself with great effect. Scarcely could the presence of the French soldiery prevent an insurrection of the Genoese populace, who, with bitter cries and reproaches, clamored for peace. Still the heroic inflexibility of Massena disdained the idea of a capitulation, and he seemed determined to bury himself and his army under the ruins of Genoa.

During this interval, the first consul was anxiously revolving in his mind the means of rescu-

Passage of the first consul across the Great St. Bernard.

ing Genoa and of recovering Italy. Thirty thousand conscripts had already arrived at Dijon. To these were united a number of troops returned from La Vendée, now completely tranquillised, and numerous volunteers from all parts of the republic. The army soon amounted to more than 50,000 men; and the gallant general Berthier was nominated to the immediate command. Early in the month of May the whole force moved in seven columns, by the route of Geneva, to the foot of the Great St. Bernard, situated on the confines of Switzerland and Savoy, near the sources of the Drance and the Doria. At Martigny they were joined by the first consul, who immediately arranged the necessary preparations for the astonishing enterprise which he had determined to attempt.

This tremendous mountain, whose huge and craggy rocks were at this season of the year covered with ice, seemed to bid defiance to every human effort, to find, or to force, a practicable passage for a numerous army, with its attendant train of carriages and artillery; nor had the most celebrated Gallic generals, during the proudest periods of the monarchy, dared to conceive such a project. Since the age of Hannibal, the genius and fortune of whom seemed to revive in Bonaparte, so vast a design had never perhaps occupied the mind of any commander. On the sum-

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mit of this famous mountain is a monastery, founded for the admirably beneficent purpose of relieving unfortunate and bewildered travellers, whose dreadful lot it might otherwise be to perish in the snows, which, for three-fourths of the year, here envelope the face of nature. In this sequestered and dreary solitude, the cold is excessive even in summer. There is scarcely a vestige of vegetation to be discerned; an immense perspective of mountains astonishes the view, and a perpetual silence terrifies the imagination. The monks inhabiting this monastery, whose religion is benevolence to all, are unhappily themselves the victims of a devout and ascetic melancholy. Their coarse and scanty fare with difficulty suffices for the support of life through the long winter which reigns in these horrific regions. Estranged equally from the cares and the enjoyments of existence, they see from their inaccessible heights the storms and tempests rolling beneath them; and, without indulging, or even admitting, a sublunary thought, seem anxious only to dissolve every trace of connexion with the world, even while they continue to be classed in the number of its inhabitants.

From St. Pierre, where the army first began to ascend the mountain, to the convent, is three leagues, and more than five hours were occupied in a march, every step of which presented

a new labor. The heavy artillery were conveyed in trees hollowed for the purpose, and with immense difficulty dragged up the steep and icy sides of the mountain; the road in general affording a breadth of only two or three feet, with frequent chasms, and exposed to the fall of the fatal avalanches from the vast impending heights. The rapid descent of the mountain was scarcely less dangerous; nor could either men or horses at all times maintain, with the most guarded care, their slippery footing. Not the slightest suspicion being entertained, by the Austrian general, of an attempt to force a passage into Lombardy in this direction, no enemy appeared to obstruct their march, where a single troop might have opposed the progress of an army. Even when informed of the preparations made by the first consul for the invasion of Italy, general Melas treated the intelligence with proud and fatal contempt.

His rapid successes.—

On the 26th Floreal (May 15) general Bonaparte took possession, after defeating a body of Austrians, (the first which had ventured to show themselves,) of the town of Aosta, situated on the banks of the Doria. He then proceeded to the attack of the celebrated fort of Bard, which is so constructed as to command, from the lofty eminence on which it is placed, the entrance of the valley of Aosta, where the opposing mountains

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approach within the distance of fifty yards. Having taken the principal outwork by assault, an effort was made to carry the fort by escalade, but repelled with loss. The inventive genius of the commander, nevertheless, ever fertile in expedients, discovered a narrow, and hitherto impracticable, passage across the neighbouring mountain, or rock, Albaredo. The artillery was transported, under cover of the night, at all hazards, through the pass of the valley, under the walls of the fort; the garrison of which, being menaced with another assault, and thinking no resistance available against such perseverance and temerity, now surrendered at discretion.

Ivrea and Romagno, at which last place a considerable force had assembled, next fell into the hands of the French; the Austrian troops being completely defeated by general Lannes. On the 30th of May the first consul entered Vercelli, finding there large magazines; and, marching on to Novara, passed the Tessino after a sharp action. The Austrians retiring everywhere before him, he took possession of Milan on the 2d of June. Here he was complimented by the magistracy, and received with loud acclamations; which were the most likely to be sincere, as the oppression exercised by the Austrians was not only more recent, but far more grievous and indiscriminate, than that of the French, and to be

—Takes possession of Milan.

exceeded only by the horrible barbarities of the infamous court of Naples. The celebrated philosopher Fontana, among innumerable other estimable and distinguished persons—victims of their too ardent patriotism—was liberated from the dungeon into which he had been thrown, loaded with chains, for having accepted an office under the republican government, when no other government existed. A *Te Deum* was sung at the cathedral for the happy *deliverance* of Milan from the enemy, at which Bonaparte attended in person, "in spite," as he expressed himself in a letter to the consuls Cambaceres and Le Brun, "of what the atheists of Paris may say."

A proclamation was also issued by the first consul, replete with wisdom and moderation, addressed to the Cisalpine people; in which he exhorted them to bury their former animosities in oblivion, and to unite in one general effort to establish, upon the most solid basis, a free and powerful state. He composed a provisional government of the most respectable and enlightened citizens; promising them "to fix the republic on the firm foundations of *religion and social order*, as soon as he had driven the enemy from their territory." He commanded the generals of the different divisions to make no requisition for the use of the army without informing the chief commissary therewith, who was charged fully to in-

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demnify the inhabitants furnishing the necessary supplies; and, in every part of his conduct, he appeared to act upon a system of justice and equity, which restored confidence and infused the most animating hopes into every breast. General Bonaparte remained seven days at Milan, in order to refresh the troops, as well as to re-organise the several branches of the government.

The different divisions of the French army which had received directions to co-operate with the commander-in-chief in various and distant quarters, were all strongly actuated by the same spirit, and all participated in the same flow of success. The division of Mount Cenis, under general Thureau, had forced that famous pass, and taken possession of Suza and Brunetto. That under general Lannes, which had separated from the main army after the battle of Romagno, entered Chiavasso the 27th of May, seizing a great number of boats on the Po laden with rice and corn. He then captured the important town of Pavia, containing a vast quantity of military stores. And general Moncey, with labor inferior only to that of Bonaparte himself, traversing the Grisons and Mount St. Gothard at the head of 20,000 men detached from the army of the Rhine, had reached Bellinzona, and established himself on the borders of Lake Maggiore.

Evacuation of Genoa by the French

All these splendid achievements were, however, incompetent to avert, or even to retard, the fall of Genoa. The regular provisions of the garrison were now entirely consumed; and the extremities of famine, with all its attendant horrors, had been long endured by the inhabitants; when general Massena received a message from general Melas, inviting him to an interview with lord Keith and the generals Ott and St. Julien, who offered him a capitulation on the most honorable terms; but the French commander declared that no negotiation would be entered into if the word capitulation were mentioned. After a short demur, the overture being renewed and modified, a CONVENTION was signed on the 6th of June; according to the terms of which, Genoa was to be evacuated by the RIGHT WING *of the French army*, the general-in-chief of which, and his staff, were to be at liberty to join the centre of the said army by land; and the rest to be transported to France, with their arms and baggage, by way of Nice and Antives. Such were the honorable terms which the heroic defence of general Massena entitled him to claim from the prudence, no less than the generosity, of the enemy.

The Austrian commander seemed not a little elated with the magnitude and importance of this new acquisition. In the proclamation

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issued by him on his entrance into the city of Genoa, he thus expresses himself:—"Since Divine Providence, continuing to shower down its blessings upon the troops of his imperial, royal, and apostolical, majesty, has designed to succour this people, who, under the yoke of an anarchical government, had for a season forgotten those sentiments of religion for which they had been at all former times distinguished, We may believe that each inhabitant will not only return thanks to the God of Armies for the *deliverance* obtained, but will make it his duty to co-operate in the public tranquillity, by his submission to the orders which shall be found provisionally most proper for the government of this city and *province*." The proclamation concludes with menacing all contraveners of such orders with prompt and terrible punishment; and exhorting all the inhabitants "to act conformably to those sentiments of *gratitude* which the firmness of his imperial majesty, who has spared no sacrifice for the *deliverance* of the city and *province*, ought to inspire." Nothing contained in this proclamation seemed to indicate any more or further intention, on the part of the emperor, to re-establish the Genoese republic, than the Sardinian monarchy; and it did not, at this moment, appear utterly improbable, that the devouring ambition of Austria might be ultimately

gratified by the acquisition of its most darling object—the undivided possession of Lombardy.

General Melas had long imagined the army of Dijon to be as fabulous as the soldiers of Cadmus; and, when its existence was ascertained, so defective was his intelligence, that he deemed it composed at most of eighteen or twenty thousand men, intended to make a diversion into Italy with a view to draw off the Austrians from the blockade of Genoa; and he despised the distant threats of an invasion, which he regarded as a rash and impracticable attempt. Roused, at length, from his dreams of security, he repaired in the beginning of June to Piedmont, and assembled in haste the main body of his army, in order to defend the passage of the Po and the approaches to Turin and Asti. But, to his surprise, the French general, instead of proceeding immediately to the relief of Genoa, crossed the Tessino, and established himself in the Milanese. On this intelligence the Austrians, commanded by general Ott, fell back upon Montebello. The French had now, after concentrating their forces, taken a strong position on the northern bank of the Po, below its junction with the Tessino, when it becomes a stream of great depth and magnitude; and on the 8th of June the van-guard of the army, under general Lannes, passed that river opposite to

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Stradella, after a vigorous resistance by the force opposed to them. On the next day, urging their march to Montebello, they were furiously attacked by the flower of the Austrian army, under general Ott. The conflict was doubtful, till general Watrin, arriving with reinforcements, decided the event in favor of the republicans; and the enemy, after the loss of three thousand men, and twelve pieces of cannon, retreated to Voghera. A few hours after the battle, general Desaix arrived at the head quarters, and was received with transport by the first consul and all the army.

By the prisoners captured at Montebello, intelligence was communicated of the surrender of Genoa; and the French army advanced to Tortona, while the Austrians established themselves in great force at Alessandria. On the 13th of June the French decamped from Tortona, and marched towards Alessandria—the van halting for some time at St. Juliano, a hamlet situated a league from Tortona, at the entrance of the plain of MARENGO. As soon as the different divisions came up, both infantry and cavalry moved forward in order of battle. General Bonaparte, attended by his *suite*, traversing the plain, examined the ground with great attention; meditating deeply, and occasionally giving instructions. Notwithstanding the vicinity of the two

armies, an awful silence prevailed; and before midnight all seemed hushed into a profound and portentous repose. BOOK XXXIII. 1800.

On the 14th of June, at day-break, the French formed in two lines, the wings being protected by strong bodies of cavalry, and the village of Marengo supporting the centre. The Austrian line extended two leagues on the banks of the Bormida, over which a bridge had been previously thrown. Eighty pieces of cannon preceded the Austrian battalions, and discharged into the ranks of the French dreadful showers of shot and shells. The battle soon raged in every point of the line. After several hours close conflict, the left wing of the French, under general Victor, began to give way. At the same time the right wing, under general Lannes, was hard pressed, and with difficulty resisted the efforts of a numerous body of cavalry, which assaulted the enemy in flank, and threatened to turn that wing of the army. Everywhere the clouds of Austrian cavalry overspread the plain, and, masking several pieces of light artillery, did terrible execution. Notwithstanding the heroic exertions of Bonaparte, who, assisted by general Berthier, commanded in the centre, and in person repeatedly rallied the troops and led them to the charge, it was perceived that the Austrians gained ground, till at length the whole Decisive battle of Marengo.

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line was thrown into dangerous disorder. Several divisions, broken and unable to resume their stations, retired altogether from the field, and the garrison of Tortona making a vigorous sally in the rear, the situation of the French became very critical. Orders had been repeatedly sent for the reserve to advance with all speed; but the divisions of Desaix and Monnier were still at a great distance.

Behind the centre of the French was a defile, having a wood on the one side, and on the other a chain of vineyards extending to the village of Marengo. Here the first consul determined to make his ultimate stand, and to defend to the utmost the entrance of this defile. The Austrians, animated by success, redoubled their efforts, and the ground was everywhere strewed with the dead and dying. To retreat, was inevitable destruction to the French, as the Austrian cavalry were posted at the other extremity of the defile, eagerly awaiting the issue of the combat. At four in the afternoon, after an astonishing struggle, the French still maintained their position. General Melas, irritated at the obstinate opposition of this phalanx of veterans, resolved, in a fatal moment, to adopt the hazardous manœuvre of extending his wings, in order to turn the centre of the enemy, and, by throwing his infantry into the vineyards and woods, to enclose the

French and cut off all retreat. At this moment the divisions of Desaix and Monnier were descried at a distance; and Fortune and Victory seemed, in the view of the anxious expectants, to hover round their standards. General Bonaparte, whose watchful eye nothing could escape, perceiving the Austrian line dangerously weakened by the last movements, and having intelligence of the near approach of Desaix, determined upon one grand effort. As the battalions of reserve came up, they formed in line of battle on the right; and, every thing being previously prepared, the generals Bonaparte and Berthier, with the officers of the staff, passed through the ranks, in the face of a most tremendous fire, inspiring that confidence which is the best and surest omen of success. At length, the signal being given, every corps was at once in motion; and, returning like lions to the charge, the defile was in an instant cleared of the enemy, who, in their turn, astonished and dismayed, were pursued with vigor by the French cavalry, under the gallant general Murat. Those divisions of the French which had retired from the scene of action, now re-entered the plain; and the whole army, being formed anew, presented a formidable front. On the right, also, general Desaix carried all before him; and, falling on the advanced post of St. Stephano, made dread-

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ful slaughter of the Austrian left wing. General Victor, on the other side, rallying his troops, not only resumed his position, but drove the Austrians back to the Bormida. In the very height of the exultation excited by all these successes, general Desaix received a mortal wound from a musket-ball. This only served to inflame still higher the military ardor of the troops, who were impatient to avenge the death of their beloved commander. When Bonaparte was informed of the fate of this distinguished officer, he exclaimed, without further notice, "Why am I not permitted to weep for him?" The Austrian cavalry charged once more in a mass, but without effect; they were repulsed with loss, by the far inferior force of general Murat.

Night was now coming on, and the confusion of the Austrian army was irremediable. Giving way on all sides, and in the utmost disorder, they at length reached the bridge of the Bormida, where they fought in heroic despair till after sunset. Cavalry, infantry, and artillery, all in vain striving against the increasing pressure of the enemy; and, attempting to pass the bridge at once, a frightful scene of carnage ensued; and the shattered remains of the different legions, which had been so long victoriously engaged on the plain of Marengo, now with difficulty saved themselves from utter destruction. The village

clock sounded the hour of ten, when the French, weary of slaughter, returned slowly to their camp. The field, covered with the dying and the dead in promiscuous heaps, presented a dreadful spectacle; and the cries of the wounded, to whom little or no relief could be administered till the dawn of the morning, excited all the sympathies of humanity. This day cost the Austrians about 15,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with twenty-six pieces of cannon; the loss of the French could scarcely fall short of ten thousand. Never was there a more obstinate combat—never was a victory disputed with more fury; and few with superior skill or judgment. The two armies were engaged for fourteen hours within musket shot;—it was, in one word, a battle worthy to decide the fate of Italy.

Death of general Desaix.

The death of Desaix excited the deepest sorrow and regret. On the next day his remains, covered only with his cloak, were conveyed to Milan in an open carriage. "Every eye," says a spectator, "was moistened with tears while looking on the inanimate blood-stained corse*." He was not quite thirty-two years of age, but he had lived long enough for fame and glory. His conduct at Weissenburg, at Lauterburg, at Kehl, and more recently in Egypt, had raised him to a high rank as a warrior; and his private cha-

* Vide Petit's Campaign of Italy, A.D. 1800.

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racter seemed composed of all that was either amiable or estimable in human nature. The character given him in common by friends and foes, was that of being a second chevalier Bayard—"Sans peur, et sans reproche.*"

Armistice between the French and Austrians.

Early the next morning an Austrian officer arrived to treat of an armistice; and general Berthier, to whom this negotiation was entrusted, in the course of the same day concluded articles with general Melas which filled the French with joy and astonishment. They imported, that a suspension of hostilities should immediately take place, and remain inviolate until an answer could be received from the court of Vienna; and in case of objection to the conditions of the armistice, ten days' notice of the renewal of hostilities to be given;—that, in consideration of this suspension, the castles of Tortona, Alessandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighitone, Arona, and Placentia, shall be put into the hands of the French before the 20th of June; and the fortresses

* The elegant lines of PRIOR, in his Ode to the Memory of Colonel Villiers, may, without any violence of allusion, be applied to the young and accomplished Desaix:

"Lay the dead hero graceful in a grave,—
"The only honor he can now receive;
"And fragrant mould upon his body throw,
"And plant the warrior laurel o'er his brow;
"Light lie the earth, and flourish green the bough!"

of Coni, Ceva, Savona, and the city of Genoa, before the 24th of the same month; and Urbino on the 26th;—that the imperial army shall occupy all the country situated below the Mincio and the Po, including Peschiera, Mantua, and the city of Ferrara, on the right bank of that river; also Tuscany and Ancona: and that the French army shall occupy the country comprised between the Chiesca, the Oglio, and the Po,—the intermediate space being left wholly unoccupied. On the conclusion of the armistice, the first consul made a present to general Melas of a rich Turkish sabre, in token of his esteem; and that officer expressed in high terms his admiration of Bonaparte's extraordinary talents and genius.

The first consul, having so speedily and prosperously executed his arduous commission, now prepared to return to Paris. Arriving at Milan on the 17th of June, he attended once more at the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was chaunted in honor of the *deliverance of* ITALY. He said to the Milanese patriots—"Let them have MASS, the PEOPLE are SOVEREIGN. If they will have religion, learn to respect their will." And, in a conference with the clergy, he exhorted them "to preach and practise the morality of JESUS CHRIST." He recognised and declared the Cisalpine republic to be a free and independent nation, establishing a provisional executive government of nine persons;

Re establishment of the Cisalpine republic.

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and directed a *consulta* to be convoked, in order to prepare a constitution for the new republic, thus rising like a phœnix from its ashes.

On the 26th of June, general Bonaparte departed for Turin, and entered that capital amid the loudest acclamations of the people. He left that royal residence of the Sardinian monarch, after a transient visit; traversed Mount Cenis, passed by Chamberri, and arrived at Lyons on the evening of the 28th. There, as in all other places, the highest honors were paid to him. The quays, bridges, and even the roofs of the houses, were covered with spectators, whose animated gratulations were blended with military music, and discharges of artillery. During his stay of twenty-four hours at Lyons, he laid the first stone of the beautiful place of Belle-Cour; and, touched with the deep distress which that superb city had experienced since the commencement of the revolution, he consoled the public functionaries, who presented complimentary addresses to him, with the most kind and encouraging declarations.

Return of the first consul to Paris.

Passing by Dijon, he arrived in the capital on the 3d of July, after an absence of little more than two months, receiving, without any appearance of elation or vanity, the congratulations of all the constituted authorities of Paris, and of the ministers of foreign powers.

The address of the department of Paris, delivered by the prefect, thus expresses the sentiments with which, at this auspicious moment, every breast was animated:—"In the history of the world we find, CITIZEN CHIEF CONSUL, the most splendid victories to be only splendid calamities; and the remotest posterity wept the blood-stained laurels of the conqueror. You, general-consul, have created a new kind of glory, as an example to heroes, who, like you, shall be called to defend the independence and the happiness of their country—it is for PEACE that you have never ceased to fight, and to conquer. To you it is given to unite all parties at home—to triumph over the greatest captains abroad—to be at once conqueror and pacificator. Enjoy, general-consul, the adoption of all Europe—you do not belong only to France. There are men of whom the world has a right to be proud. Every one of our fellow-citizens blesses with us the chief magistrate of the republic, who, for the accomplishment of its glorious destinies, is about to give peace to Europe, and to restore France to the universe."

By an article of the Italian armistice, neither of the armies, during the suspension, was allowed to send reinforcements into Germany, which was now the only scene of military operations. For nearly two months general Moreau

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had sought nothing further than to amuse general Kray by marches and counter-marches, and to alarm the court of Vienna for the safety of the hereditary states. General Kray, however, remained in his entrenched camp before Ulm, which, by new works, he had made almost impregnable. On receiving intelligence of the victory of Marengo, the French commander was at liberty to unfold the enterprise of his character, after a display of the most consummate prudence. He therefore prepared to cross the Danube, and if possible to bring general Kray to a decisive action. For this purpose he detached a strong corps under Lecourbe, at the end of June, to pass that river below Ulm, in order to cut off the Austrian general from his magazines at Donawert and Ratisbon. In this design he was in a great degree successful. General Kray immediately raised his camp, and, leaving a numerous garrison at Ulm, crossed the river at Newburg. A series of actions ensued, in which the Austrians, upon the whole, were very much worsted; and, in the result, general Kray fell back on Ingoldstadt, leaving the French masters of the whole electorate of Bavaria to the south of the Danube; and general Moreau immediately established his head-quarters at Munich. A very numerous detachment now rapidly advanced, under the orders of general Lecourbe,

Further successes of Moreau in Germany.

towards the Tyrol, to seize upon the Voralberg and the Grisons, and form a junction with the army of Italy. This bold manœuvre was crowned with such success, that the French had already taken possession of Coire, the capital of that country; when, in consequence of the important intelligence that count St. Julien had arrived at Paris from Vienna with proposals of peace, it was agreed that the armistice of Italy should be in like manner extended to Germany, leaving, for the line of demarcation, the posts occupied at the period when this convention was concluded (July 15) by the respective armies.

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Preliminary articles of peace signed at Paris.

On the 28th of July, articles of pacification were signed by count St. Julien and M. Talleyrand, at Paris, on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, (subject to modification on certain subordinate points,) which were immediately ratified by the French government. But, when these articles reached Vienna, the entire proceeding was violently opposed by the British ambassador, lord Minto, and the whole Anglo-Austrian party in that court, who inveighed against the dishonor and dishonesty of a separate treaty. The articles in question being confessedly provisional, and the powers of the count St. Julien being in fact extremely limited, the emperor could by no means be charged with any violation of public faith, in refusing his im-

The emperor refuses his ratification.

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perial ratification (to which step he was at length, and in an evil moment, persuaded) of the articles signed at Paris; or of any conditions whatever, unless his ally the king of Great Britain were expressly comprehended in the negotiation.

Negotiation for an armistice between Great Britain and France.

Early in the month of August, lord Minto, in a note to baron Thugut, after expressing the satisfaction felt by the king his master at the conduct of his imperial majesty, declared the entire concurrence of his Britannic majesty in the negotiations which may take place for a general pacification, and his readiness to send plenipotentiaries to treat for peace in concert with those of his imperial and royal majesty, as soon as the intentions of the French government to enter into a negotiation with his Britannic majesty shall be known to him.

Baron Thugut, in a dispatch, dated August the 11th, to M. Talleyrand, informed that minister, that the king of Great Britain, the ally of his imperial majesty, was ready on his part to concur in the negotiations for re-establishing general tranquillity, after which, suffering Europe has long sighed in vain; and it only remains therefore, he says, to agree upon the place at which the plenipotentiaries shall meet—proposing the city of Luneville.

In consequence of this communication, M.

Otto, commissary of the French republic (resident in England), a man of great discretion and address, transmitted by order of his government a note to lord Grenville, dated August 24, demanding further explanations respecting the proposition communicated by the court of London to that of Vienna; observing, at the same time, the *impossibility* that, at the moment when Austria and England take a common share in the negotiations, France should find herself under a suspension of arms with Austria, and a continuation of hostilities with England. He proposes, on the part of the first consul, a general armistice between the fleets and armies of France and England, analogous to those which have taken place in Italy and Germany; and declares that he had received from his government the powers necessary for negotiating and concluding this general armistice.

Instead of admitting, in this critical conjuncture, M. Otto to an immediate personal conference with the English secretary of state, which would have so much facilitated the explanations required, a captain George, commissary for the exchange of prisoners, and therefore a gentleman personally known to M. Otto, was directed to confer with him, agreeably to a minute of instructions with which he was furnished. With regard to the naval armistice, captain George was directed

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to say, "that an armistice, as applying to naval operations, has at no period ever been agreed on between Great Britain and France during the course of their negotiations for peace, or until the preliminaries have been actually signed; that it cannot, therefore, be considered as a step necessary to negotiation; and that, from the disputes to which its execution must unavoidably be expected to give rise, it might more probably tend to obstruct than to facilitate the success of those endeavours which the two parties might employ for the restoration of peace; that the circumstances of a naval war are obviously not such as to admit of such equal arrangements as are easily established with regard to military operations, when suspended by such an agreement; *that it appears, therefore, at all events,* PREMATURE *to enter even into the* DISCUSSION *of the question!*"

Captain George was in return informed by M. Otto (August 28), that he had every reason to think that the continuation of the German armistice would depend upon the conclusion of the English armistice, the advantages of the latter being considered by France as an equivalent for the very obvious disadvantages of the German one. M. Otto further declared himself instructed to require an answer to the proposal for a general armistice, before the 3d of Septem-

ber; which made him conclude that hostilities might again commence about that time, should the proposed armistice be positively refused on the part of his majesty. From this declaration, the great importance attached to the naval armistice, by the government of France, plainly appeared. It was made the indispensable condition of prolonging the German armistice, and of admitting England to a joint negotiation with Austria. It remained with the English court to determine, whether it was least disadvantageous to her interests to admit the claim of France, or, rejecting it, to withdraw her own to the joint negotiation. To endeavour, *by arguing the case*, to obtain the advantage, and to avoid the disadvantage led unavoidably to that sort of altercation, from which nothing but ill-humour and loss of time, could possibly result.

On the 29th an official note was addressed by lord Grenville to M. Otto, similar to the instructions of captain George; to which M. Otto replied, on the following day, "that he was directed to submit to the British government the *projet* for a maritime truce; but, the ministers of his majesty having judged that it would be PREMATURE to enter even into the DISCUSSION of this object, it is his duty to respect the motives which appear to them to militate against such a negotiation."

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The 3d of September having passed over, M. Otto transmitted another note to lord Grenville, in which he stated, by express order from his government, "that preliminaries of peace had been concluded and *signed* between his imperial majesty and the French republic; and that the intervention of lord Minto, who demanded that England should be admitted to take part in the negotiations, prevented their ratification by his imperial majesty. That the suspension of arms, which had taken place solely in the hope of a speedy peace between the emperor and the republic, ought to cease, and will in fact cease, on the 24th Fructidor (11th Sept.), since France had sacrificed to that hope alone, the immense advantages which victory had secured to her; that, in fine, the intervention of England rendered the question of peace so complicated, that it was impossible for the French government to prolong further the armistice upon the continent, unless his Britannic majesty will consent to render it common to the three powers." And M. Otto further informs lord Grenville, that the besieged or blockaded places which it is proposed to assimilate to those of Germany, are Malta and the maritime towns of Egypt.

The business became now very serious and pressing. The English court had surely, since the receipt of M. Otto's first note, sufficient

time to consider upon what terms a naval armistice should be granted, if it were expedient to grant one at all. Yet lord Grenville appeared as much as ever at a loss how to act, and, still avoiding a personal interview with M. Otto, whose good sense might have proved essentially useful at this juncture, he wrote on the same day a letter to Mr. Nepean, secretary to the admiralty, importing, "that, the French government having, *as it appeared*, determined to make the continuance of the armistice between Austria and France, and the commencement of the negotiations for peace, dependent on the conclusion of an armistice with this country, it was judged proper that he should see M. Otto, and inquire of him whether he was furnished with a projet of a treaty of naval truce, and what were the conditions of it." This was a strangely circuitous mode of asking a question—a question, indeed, wholly superfluous, as M. Otto had in his official note to lord Grenville, of the 30th of August, plainly intimated that he was in possession of such a projet. And he now avowed to Mr. Nepean, that he was deterred from presenting it by his lordship's declaration "that it was altogether *premature* to enter into the DISCUSSION of the question!"

The projet consisted of seven articles, in substance as follows:—1. Suspension of hostilities.

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—2. Free navigation.—3. Vessels captured after a fixed period, to be restored.—4. Malta, Alexandria, and Belleisle, to be assimilated to Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingoldstadt; and all neutral or French vessels to enter with provisions freely.—5. The British squadrons which blockade Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Flushing, to withdraw from the coasts.—6. Armistice to be regularly notified.—7. Spain and Holland to be included.

On the 7th of September, lord Grenville returned an answer to this note, which indicated extreme ill humour; and, indeed, the alternative to which the English court was reduced, must have been by no means a pleasant one: but ill humour ought never to display itself in the conduct of a negotiator, because it can never forward the object of the negotiation. When an option is offered by an enemy, it may be either accepted or refused. In neither case can it be right to have recourse to reproach and invective, which can only tend in the first of these alternatives to prevent the return of friendship, and in the latter to inflame the motives of enmity. "The spirit of the note last received from M. Otto," lord Grenville tells that able and candid negotiator, "is unhappily but little consonant with those appearances of a conciliatory disposition, which had before been manifested. If," says his lordship, "it be really

practicable, in the present moment, to restore permanent tranquillity to Europe, this object must be effected by very different means than those of such a controversy as that paper is calculated to excite." The English minister proceeds to state, in a very tedious and formal manner, the abstract principle on which an armistice ought to be founded, and employs much superfluous pains to expose the inequality of the conditions proposed by France, and their incongruity with the abstract principle laid down by him. "To a proposal," says this lofty statesman, "so manifestly repugnant to justice and equality, and so injurious not only to his majesty's interests, but also to those of his allies, it cannot be expected that any motive should induce the king to accede." He then informs M. Otto that he has transmitted to him a counter-projet, "containing regulations more nearly corresponding with that principle of equality on which *alone* his majesty can consent to treat. Even those articles are, in many important points, very short of what his majesty might justly demand from a reference to the general principle above stated."

The chief and, indeed, only essential points of difference between the projet and the counter-projet, consist in the more rigid restrictions proposed, and no doubt very properly, by the English

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government, respecting Malta and the ports of Egypt, and insisting "that nothing shall be admitted by sea which can give additional means of defence, and provisions only for fourteen days in proportion to the consumption. And, in regard to the ports of France, that none of the ships of war shall, during the armistice, be removed to any other station.

The letter and counter-projet of lord Grenville having been transmitted by M. Otto to Paris, he was authorised, on the 16th of September, to return an answer to the same; in which he informs the English minister, that, the papers in question having been laid before the first consul, he has observed that the armistice proposed by England did not offer any advantage to the French republic, and consequently could not compensate for the serious inconveniences which would result to it, from the continuance of the continental armistice. Hence it follows, that the counter-projet could be admitted only as the basis of a particular arrangement between France and England. But, the effect of the proposed maritime truce being intended to serve as a compensation to the French republic, for the continental truce, the former ought to afford to it advantages equal to the inconveniences which it experiences from the latter.

M. Otto, therefore, stated that he had re-

ceived directions to make two proposals, of which his Britannic majesty might choose that which should appear to him most consonant to the interest of his dominions, or to his continental relations. The *first* was, "that the projet for an armistice be drawn up, and admitted, in terms analogous to those which have been proposed by the ministry of his Britannic majesty, but relative only to a separate negotiation between the two powers." And, secondly, "that his Britannic majesty should continue to make common cause with the emperor, but that in this case he should consent that the maritime truce may offer to the French republic, advantages equal to those secured to the house of Austria by the continental truce.—The first consul has already made, to the love of peace, a sufficiently great sacrifice. If he should continue to derive no benefit from the successes of the war, it would no longer be moderation, but weakness. It would no longer be the means of arriving at the conclusion of peace, but that of perpetuating the war. Perhaps, in the judgment of statesmen, the French government may have already too long delayed to avail itself of the contingency which was favorable to it; but it has only done so upon the positive assurances which had been given to it, of a speedy and separate peace."

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To this concise and perspicuous statement of the nature of the alternative offered by France, lord Grenville, on the 20th of September, returned an answer, importing, "that his majesty still looks to a naval armistice, on suitable conditions, as to a SACRIFICE which he may be induced to make, in order to prevent the renewal of hostilities on the continent, and thereby to facilitate those joint negotiations for general peace, which might perhaps be accelerated by such an arrangement, although they are by no means necessarily dependent on it. But, when it is required that the extent of the sacrifice which his majesty is to make, should be regulated neither by any fair standard of equality, nor by the ordinary rules which govern such transactions; when, without any reference to the interests of his own people, he is called upon to proportion his concessions to the exaggerated estimates which his enemies have formed of the benefits derived to his allies, from the continental armistice; and when, on such grounds as these, conditions are insisted on which even these could not warrant; it becomes necessary to state distinctly, that his majesty neither recognises this principle, nor, if he did, could he agree in this application of it."

But, in regard to this reasoning, it is obvious to remark, that a SACRIFICE cannot, from its very nature, be regulated by any fair standard of

equality; that, in an extraordinary case, the ordinary rules which govern such transactions must necessarily be superceded; and that, for the English minister, in the outset of the negotiation, decisively to declare his majesty called upon to proportion his concessions to the exaggerated and unwarranted estimates of his enemies, was at once to prejudge the question, and to render all discussion ineffectual; because this was the precise point of difference which required to be argued and discussed. If his majesty did not recognise the principle, that it was expedient in this case to make a *sacrifice* for the sake of his ally, upon what principle did he concur in the idea of a naval armistice at all? The application of the principle was, indeed, a matter of great difficulty, and certainly not to be surmounted by waving all discussion relative to it, on the strange pretext of its being premature; for, if a question of urgency could ever occur, this was indubitably of that class.

On the 21st of September, an answer was returned to lord Grenville's official communication by M. Otto, who expressed the deepest regret that the principles of conciliation contained in his note were not acceded to. "It was," he said, "not merely with a view to discuss those principles, but in order to propose fresh means of reconciliation, that he felt it his duty to re-

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quest, in his letter of the 16th, an interview with his excellency." And he announced to the English minister, that the intentions of the first consul were anew detailed in the *projet* which he had the honor to inclose."

The second projet of France differed from that of England, chiefly in two points:—first, in the extraordinary stipulation, that six French frigates shall have the liberty of sailing from Toulon, of unlading at Alexandria, and of returning without being searched; and secondly, that the restriction respecting ships of war, in the fifth article, shall be confined to ships of the line.

On the 23d of September an official note was addressed by M. Otto to lord Grenville, in which he again expressed his regret that the want of more direct communication with his majesty's ministers, had rendered it impossible for him to give his official overtures the necessary explanations. He now states, that, in conformity with the advice which he had transmitted to lord Grenville on the 4th instant, notification was given of the cessation of the continental armistice at the term which had been fixed upon; but the counter-projet of the British ministry, dispatched by the under-signed on the 8th of this month, having reached Paris, on the 10th, and his imperial majesty having appeared to be convinced that his ally would not with-hold his con-

sent to an admissible armistice, the first consul determined for eight days to retard the renewal of hostilities. Orders were immediately dispatched to the armies of Germany and Italy; and, in the event of those orders arriving too late in the last-mentioned country, and of the French generals having obtained successes in consequence of any military operation, they are ordered to resume that position which they occupied on the precise day on which hostilities were re-commenced.

It must be remarked, that, in his letter of the 20th of September, lord Grenville had expressed "the concern and surprise of his majesty, that the orders for giving notice of the termination of the continental armistice, must actually have been dispatched from Paris at the very time when the continuance of that armistice was proposed to his majesty as the condition and inducement for a maritime truce." This was a very extraordinary subject of complaint, after M. Otto had positively declared that such orders would certainly be transmitted at the time specified by him. The explanation of that skilful negotiator, in his note of the 23d, might, however, have satisfied any reasonable suspicion. But lord Grenville in his reply (September 24th) renews his charge of duplicity, or rather of fraud, against the first consul, and endeavours to support

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this injurious and insulting accusation by a reference to dates. "The first proposal," he says, "made on the part of France for a naval armistice, was dated August 24th—the notices for terminating the continental armistice were given by the French generals on the 27th and 29th of August: the orders for that purpose must, therefore, have been actually sent from Paris before the 24th." To this it is obvious to answer, that, if the proposal of France had been accepted by England previous to the 3d of September, the day specified by M. Otto, counter-orders would doubtless have been dispatched to the armies; and, as fourteen days' notice was necessary previous to the re-commencement of hostilities, the requisite intelligence would have been conveyed in due time to the respective generals without difficulty.—But could lord Grenville have been once assured that the armistice would not be suffered to expire while the negotiation was pending, he would, no doubt, have gone on, in his characteristic manner, exclaiming and declaiming till the Grecian calends.

His lordship insinuates, that the only satisfactory evidence which the French government can *now* give of the sincerity of its disposition for peace, would be by engaging with facility in a joint negotiation with the king and the emperor. This presuming statesman even goes so far as to

assert, "that no man who considers the past events of this contest with attention, or who is capable of judging with accuracy of the present situation of affairs, *can* believe, that, if the present war is to be terminated by a succession of treaties between the different powers now engaged in it, any permanent or solid basis of general tranquillity could be established."

Still persisting in his resolution not to *submit* to a personal interview with M. Otto, his lordship informs that gentleman of "the appointment by his majesty of a proper person to confer with him respecting the different proposals for a naval armistice. This step," his lordship says, "affords a new proof of his majesty's disposition to bend himself to every reasonable facility which can contribute to a general pacification." But to appoint a proper person to confer upon a subject of national importance, seems no very wonderful or unprecedented mark of royal condescension. The person appointed was Mr. G. Hammond, under-secretary of state, who received from lord Grenville very ample and detailed instructions respecting the business on which he was to treat. His lordship might, however, have spared himself this trouble; for, in the conference which took place between Mr. Hammond and M. Otto, on the 25th of September, and which appears to have been conducted on both sides with frankness and ability, the French

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minister made no scruple to acknowledge, "that the fourth and fifth articles contained the only points to which his government attached much importance; and such were its sentiments respecting them, that he conceived that it would not consent to any armistice of which they did not form a part." These were the rocks on which it was now evident, as from the very commencement of the negotiation appeared indeed highly probable, that it must ultimately suffer shipwreck. In these circumstances it would have been equally generous and politic in the British government, not merely to have allowed, but encouraged, Austria to conclude a separate peace with France as speedily as possible, and upon the best terms that might be obtainable; and most unquestionably the treaty actually concluded by the French government with count St. Julien, was, considering the relative situation of the parties, extremely favorable to the interests of the emperor.

As to England, she held too many pledges of value in her possession, to justify any serious apprehensions that it would not be in her power at any time to put an end to the war on conditions of advantage to herself, separately considered, however completely she might have failed as to the attainment of any of the avowed objects of it. On the 7th of October, in a second conference between M. Otto and Mr. Hammond, the lat-

ter was in few words informed, "that the several important events which had recently taken place had completely changed the basis upon which the proposed armistice was to have been established, and put an end to the negotiation: that the first consul was, notwithstanding, invariably disposed to receive any overture relative to a separate negotiation between England and France; and that the mode of such overture entirely depended upon the option of his majesty: that the first consul would either grant a passport to a plenipotentiary of the king to treat at Paris, or, if his majesty preferred that the preliminary negotiations should be begun at London, special powers would be transmitted to M. Otto for that purpose." But on the 9th, Mr. Hammond informed M. Otto, by letter, that his majesty must steadily decline to enter into any measure tending to separate his interest from those of the powers who shall continue to make common cause with him in the prosecution of the war.

Thus another very fair and favorable opportunity of terminating the war was unhappily lost; and the essential interests of Austria (embarrassed by her subsisting engagements with the court of London) were sacrificed, without any prospect of advantage to Great Britain. Justly apprehensive, nevertheless, of the renewal of hostilities, the emperor, after joining the army in person,

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and practising to the utmost upon the forbearance of the first consul, by every warlike and every pacific demonstration, was at length induced to purchase a further prolongation of the armistice, for the term of forty-five days, commencing from the 21st of September, by the surrender of the important fortresses of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, into the hands of the French.—This was called the convention of Hohenlinden.

Continental armistice prolonged.

Convention of Hohenlinden.

During this interval, it will be expedient to advert to the situation of affairs in other parts of the world. The island of Malta had now been closely blockaded by a British naval force for near eighteen months; but such was the prodigious strength of the fortifications, that nothing short of an absolute destitution of provisions and military stores, could force the garrison to a surrender. In the month of February, this year, an attempt was made to throw supplies into the place, by a small squadron, consisting of five sail, one of which was of the line; but they were intercepted, off Cape Passaro, by a superior force under the command of lord Nelson: the flagship, which proved to be the Généreux, admiral Perée, struck her colours; and one of the frigates was also captured—the rest escaping with difficulty. In the course of the next month, the Guillaume Tell, a second rate, of eighty-six guns and a thousand men, which had sought refuge in Malta after the battle of Aboukir, endeavouring

Blockade of Malta by the English.

at length to effect her escape, was overtaken, and brought to action by the Foudroyant, Lion, and Penelope, and, after a most gallant resistance against a disparity of force so great, admiral D'Ecres, the commander, struck his flag—the Guillaume Tell being totally dismasted, and having lost two hundred of her crew.

Loss of the Queen Charlotte man-of-war.

These advantages were, in some degree, counter-balanced by the unfortunate loss of the Queen Charlotte, lord Keith's flag-ship, mounting 120 guns, and one of the finest vessels in the British navy. On the morning of the 17th of March, being at that time four or five leagues distant from Leghorn, she was discovered to be on fire. All the vessels and boats in harbor, English and foreign, put off to her relief—but in vain. About eleven o'clock she blew up, with a tremendous explosion, suffering in a moment almost total destruction! About one hundred and fifty of the crew, only, were saved. The commander himself was happily on shore when this dreadful catastrophe happened. This was the ship on board of which lord Howe hoisted his flag on the memorable 1st of June, 1794; and in this ship the king and royal family were entertained, on occasion of the visit made by them to the fleet after that splendid victory. Such are the mournful reverses of fortune and of fate,—and so transient the triumphs of human vanity!

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Surrender of Goree to the English.

Early in the month of April, the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa, surrendered to commodore sir Charles Hamilton, commanding the Ruby and Melpomene ships of war, at the first summons, and without the slightest attempt at resistance, though a place of great strength and importance.

In the month of June following, sir Edward Pellew (an officer of high reputation), cruising with a small squadron off the coast of Bretagne, gained various advantages, and captured or destroyed a considerable number of store-ships and other vessels, laden with provisions, destined for the harbor of Brest. And in August, a much more serious expedition sailed from Portsmouth, under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, and lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney. The primary object of this great armament, was the conquest of Pelleisle; but the defences appeared too strong to invite, or perhaps to admit, the attempt: they therefore proceeded to the coast of Spain, and arrived, August 25, before the harbor of Ferrol.

Abortive attempt on Ferrol.

After silencing the fire from a fort in the bay, the troops were disembarked, under the skilful direction of sir Edward Pellew, without sustaining the loss of a man; together with sixteen field-pieces, attended by seamen from the men-of-war, to carry scaling-ladders, and draw the guns up the heights above Ferrol. Just as

they had gained the summit, the rifle-corps fell in with a party of the enemy, which they drove back. At day-break a considerable body of the enemy was repulsed with the loss of about one hundred and forty men, by the earl of Cavan's brigade; so that the English remained in complete possession of the heights. It was now supposed that the batteries would have been opened against the place, and the attack (which was wholly unexpected) have been urged with all possible vigor; but, to the unspeakable chagrin both of the soldiers and sailors, emulously eager for action, the general, who in his official dispatch highly commends the spirit and alacrity shown by the troops—"comparing," as he says "the difficulties which presented themselves, and the risk attendant on failure, on one side, with the prospect of success, and the advantages to be derived from it, on the other"—all at once issued orders for a re-embarkation, which was also performed without loss. If the Spaniards were surprised at the sudden appearance of this great armament, they were doubtless much more astonished at the equally sudden disappearance of it, having, according to the most authentic accounts since published, no hope of being able long to maintain the town; and it is even affirmed, that a deputation was preparing to wait upon the general with conditions of surrender,

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The admiral and general immediately proceeded, with the squadron and convoy, "in execution," to use the words of sir John Borlase Warren to lord St. Vincent, "of the latter part of his lordship's orders."

Extraordinary vengeance inflicted on the town of Cesenatico.

Nearly at this time a most extraordinary and signal act of vengeance was inflicted on the inhabitants of Cesenatico, a small maritime town situated on the Adriatic Gulf. The municipality of this obscure place, had, it seems, according to the accounts transmitted to lord Keith, arrested a British officer charged with public dispatches. As they might, not improbably, have acted under constraint from the French troops stationed in their vicinity, it would have appeared to the world no derogation of dignity, and much more agreeable to equity, if the noble commander had made some inquiry into the previous and attendant circumstances; instead of which, the El Corso and Pigmy sloops were, after a lapse of time which seemed to indicate that the offence, whatever might have been its magnitude, had passed into oblivion, dispatched "*to make a proper example of the town.*" The boats of both vessels landed at dawn of day on the 27th of August, and, after some opposition *from a body of French troops*, made themselves masters of the place, which they then, agreeably to their orders, completely destroyed—"the vessels and the harbor

forming but one flame."—"Of thirteen vessels, of different descriptions, lying within the mole of Cesenatico, two were sunk, and eleven burnt; the harbor was choaked by the wreck of four purposely sunk in the mouth of it, and both piers entirely consumed*." Thus did the mighty arm of Britain, by a touch rather than a blow, "all the flourishing works of peace destroy" of an industrious and humble, but probably happy, community, who could scarcely suppose the possibility of so terrible a calamity; for a revenge so dreadful, incited by an offence so trivial, was perhaps never before inflicted in any age, or heard of in any country the name of which is known among civilised nations.

About the commencement of September, two very large Spanish corvettes, receiving stores, as was supposed, for the relief of Malta, were, by an extraordinary exertion of naval gallantry, cut out of Barcelona roads by the boats of the Niger and Minotaur, commanded by captain Hillyer and lieutenant Schomberg. And nearly at the same time, two frigates, confined in the harbor of Malta, making an effort to escape, one of them (La Diane, of forty-two guns) was overtaken and captured: the other got off, under cover of the night. From this incident, it was rightly conjectured that the place could not long

* Official letter.

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hold out. In fact, on the 5th of September articles of capitulation were signed, by general Vaubois, the French governor, for the fortress of La Valette, and all its dependencies, after a blockade of two years; the garrison surrendering prisoners of war. The fortifications seemed little damaged, and famine alone effected the reduction of this celebrated island—an event which added a new facility towards the accomplishment of the great work of peace.

Surrender of the island of Malta.

In the same month, the island of Curaçoa, in the West Indies, belonging to the Batavian republic, following the example of Surinam, voluntarily placed itself under the protection of his Britannic majesty's arms, upon conditions very advantageous to the inhabitants.

—And of Curaçoa.

Early in October, the whole British fleet in the Mediterranean, under lord Keith, consisting of above forty sail of the line, or other large ships of war, with a cloud of sloops and transports, having twenty thousand land forces on board, under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie, appeared before Cadiz, and summoned that important city to surrender. At this period a pestilential and epidemic fever raged in that place, which had made, and was still making, the most dreadful ravages—1857 persons having died of this disorder within seventeen days. The governor Don Tomas de Morla,

Unsuccessful attempt on Cadiz.

in his answer, expressed "his surprise that the British commander should direct his efforts against a place so circumstanced. He had too exalted an opinion of the humanity of the English people, as well as that of his excellency, to think that they or he would wish to render its condition more deplorable. However," he continues, "if, in consequence of the orders your excellency has received, you are inclined to draw down upon yourself the execration of all nations; to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the whole universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence; I declare to you, that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers much greater than all the perils of war, know how to make resistance, which shall not terminate but with their entire destruction."

To this letter the British admiral and general replied, "that, as the ships in the port were to be employed in joining and increasing the naval force of the French republic, and prolonging the calamities of Europe, an attack was to be diverted only by the surrender of those vessels." This proposition being indignantly rejected by the heroic governor, arrangements were made by the British commanders for a descent; but, when it was found that the precau-

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tions of the enemy, and the strength of the works, were adequate to the defence of the place (the danger of infection being also considered) the British armament withdrew from Cadiz; and, like the former feints on Belleisle and Ferrol, the whole was, in the fashionable language of the court, glossed over as a diversion!

After the final subversion of the Venetian republic, by the treaty of Campo Formio, the valuable islands situated near the Turkish coast, the property of that state, fell into various hands, and became a prey to great internal commotions. It was difficult for the great allied powers to agree upon a partition of these islands, and at all events desirable to prevent the aspiring court of St. Petersburg from forming any permanent establishment in the Mediterranean. At length, by a formal convention between Russia and Turkey, signed March 21, 1800, it was agreed that Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, and the other Ex-Venetian islands, (viz. Ithaca, Cerigo, St. Mauro, and the small island of Paxo, near Corfu,) should be united in one state, by the appellation of the Ionian republic. Like Ragusa, it was destined to pay a small and fixed tribute to the grand-seignor, in lieu of all other duties; and its independency was guaranteed both by the Turks and the Russians.

Establishment of the republic of the Seven Islands.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

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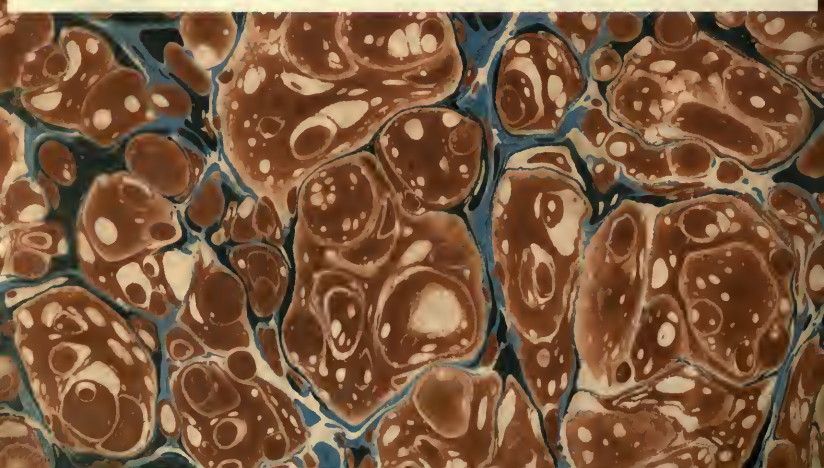

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